



INDUSTRIAL WORKERS
OF THE WORLD

INDUSTRIAL WORKER

★ EDUCATION ★ ORGANIZATION ★ EMANCIPATION

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LATIN CAULDRON BOILS

Bolivian Workers Strike!

As the *Industrial Worker* goes to press, the latest general strike in Bolivia is about to enter its third week. Government efforts to end the strike by offering a 332% increase in the minimum monthly wage (to \$62) and a share in the Cabinet were rejected by the union, which is standing by its demand for an immediate wage hike of 400 to 500% with wages tied to the cost of living. Last year inflation reached an annual rate of 2700% (!), and the *New York Times* reports that as of this January inflation was running at an annual rate of more than 50,000% (!?!).

In response to this economic crisis, the Government—which purports to be left of center—devalued the peso by 81% and raised prices by 450% as part of a range of austerity measures designed to further reduce workers' ability to survive. Juan Lechin, general secretary of the Bolivian Workers Center and head of the militant miners' union, notes that a minimum salary of \$280 a month is needed to support a family, and is calling on workers to install a socialist government.

The general strike—the fifth in some 15 months—has closed government offices, banks, and mines—which produce more than half of Bolivia's foreign exchange—as well as shutting down most industry. Tens of thousands of workers have demonstrated in support of the strike in La Paz. President Zuazo deployed troops and riot police March 20th, banning further demonstrations. Reports indicate that protest marches are continuing, and at press time police had forcibly dispersed miners' meetings in La Paz with tear gas.

Meanwhile, a general strike in Peru involving more than 400,000 strikers was entering its third week as the *Industrial Worker* went to press. Police clubbed a striker to death March 20th at the Lima airport as tens of thousands of strikers demonstrated, demanding wage increases to match that country's 230% inflation rate. In the midst of a series of attacks on strikers by police, the Peruvian Government has threatened to declare a nationwide state of emergency, imposing martial law and banning demonstrations and meetings.

With inflation running at these levels, workers might do better to demand free access to the necessities of life instead of continuing their futile efforts to keep up with five-digit inflation rates.



Mass funerals were a focal point of Salvadoran discontent during the months following the October 1979 coup, as death squads and security forces operating under the

'Christian Democratic Government sent the political death toll soaring. Eventually public demonstrations became too risky to attempt.

Death Squads Rule El Salvador

US-funded State terrorism continues in El Salvador, with dozens of people dying each week till the numbers numb. Enforced massive civilian evacuations coupled with strafing and bombing (including napalm) have driven one of five Salvadorans—roughly a million people—from their homes. In the cities the labor unions struggle on in the face of harsh repression, not only pressing for better wages and working conditions for their members, but also demanding the release of political prisoners, lifting of the state of siege, and annulment of anti-labor laws.

Amnesty International has received reports that the detention of Salvador Escalante Chavez, the Secretary-General of the Federacion Sindical Revolucionaria (Revolutionary Trade Union Federation) on January 12th has been acknowledged by the National Police. The acknowledgment came after Senor Escalante's fellow workers followed the car in which he was being driven away to National Police headquarters. Escalante's employer (the Liso Coffee plant, where he worked in quality control) reportedly intends to bring charges of "destabilization" against him under Decree Law 50 of February 24th, 1984, which establishes the legal framework for the conduct of criminal proceedings against people suspected of crimes against the State, such as "sabotage" and "destabilization". Salvador Escalante has since been released.

This spring the Salvadoran Government released 10 union leaders who had been held without charge or trial since August 1980. Nine of them, along with some 30

of their relatives, now live in Holland. The tenth reportedly remains in El Salvador.

Members of the Salvadoran National Guard arrested the 10 men and other officials of an electricity workers' union during a strike protesting the firing of unionists who had participated in previous strikes. Following the arrests, El Salvador's military junta placed all public services under military control and dissolved the electricity workers' union. Authorities reportedly accused the unionists of abandoning the country's public services, terrorism, and possession of arms. Formal charges, however, were never made.

By order of the Supreme Court, authorities released five unionists shortly after their arrests. Security guards subsequently killed one of the five. Those remaining in detention suffered torture while held at the National Guard headquarters, and beatings after their transfer to Mariona Prison in the capital city of San Salvador.

Lawyers representing the men received threats against their lives, and members of the security forces (sic) killed one of the lawyers. In addition, women related to two of the unionists have been killed or have "disappeared". The unionists conducted a hunger strike two years after their arrest to protest threats made against their relatives and the prolonged detentions without charge to which authorities subjected them. The detentions were the subject of repeated international protests which undoubtedly helped secure their release. (continued on Page 6)

Honduran Unions Attacked

On March 7th four members of the co-operative of the Sindicato Trabajadores del Instituto Nacional Agrario (Union of the National Agrarian Institute Workers) were detained in Tocoa, Honduras by members of the Fourth Infantry Battalion. Luis Gustavo Galeano, vice-president of the Central Directorate; Edilberto Funez Bonilla, a member of the board of supervisors; Adalid Iraheta, a member of the education committee; and Luis Armando Iraheta, secretary general of Section 3 of the union, were taken into custody while attending a meeting of the co-operative. The Military are reported to have broken into and searched the offices without warrant, seriously beating one of the four men they took into custody. The whereabouts of the four are unknown as the *Industrial Worker* goes to press, and it is believed they are being held incommunicado.

On March 23rd, 1983 four leaders of the Sindicato Compania Agricola y Ganadera de Sula (Union of the Agricultural and Livestock Company of Sula) were killed

and four other union activists were wounded. The attack occurred a few hours after union leaders had met a representative of the Honduran Ministry of Labor to discuss the refusal of the Agricultural and Livestock Company of Sula to negotiate a new collective agreement for its banana workers.

The Armed Forces had initially denied that those who shot the men were soldiers. Later the authorities acknowledged that they were members of the Army, but stated that they had acted independently and not in their military capacity. The soldiers involved were eventually detained but escaped, reportedly with the assistance of those guarding them.

On March 18th, 1984, Rolando Vindel Gonzalez, the president of the Sindicato de la Empresa Nacional de Energia Electrica (National Electricity Workers Union), was abducted in Tegucigalpa by men who were believed to be members of the Honduran security forces. His fate (or whereabouts) remains unknown.



International Viewpoint

The Bolivian trade-union federation COB demonstrates its power.



The other evening your not-so-humble scribe was watching an interesting side item on the boob-toob noose. The residents of an exclusive seaside suburb of Los Angeles are upset about the latest intruders into their lily-white enclave. These interlopers are not the racial or ethnic minorities that the suburbanites' affluence has provided a palm-shaded sanitary distance from, and are far less inclined to be intimidated by restrictive covenants and other social and economic restrictions of their two-legged brethren. This affluent community is experiencing a population explosion of peacocks!

Not only are the peacocks every bit as adept at decorating rooftops as their lowly pigeon brethren, but their mating calls are not consistent with the beauty of their plumage. It is comforting to know that Nature can still triumph, especially when it can disturb the affluence of those who got the dollars we worked for but never saw.

Yes, your scribe deigns to watch the boob toob every now and then, if only to keep abreast of the latest concept of good taste. For example, where else but in Freedomland could you watch a documentary on Auschwitz and see a promotion for a cookstove during a commercial break?

Some time back yours truly received a letter from none other than Lee Iacocca, close associate of the top banana in the Weisshaus. The signature looked remarkably genuine. Enclosed were some photographs of the Statue of Liberty showing the effects of atmospheric corrosion. It seems pollution has been biting off big chunks of the lady with the torch. The letter was a "personal" appeal for contributions toward repair of "our time-honored symbol of liberty", and as an inducement every contributor was to be rewarded with a beautiful certificate signed by Mr. Iacocca himself.

This was too good an opportunity to pass up, so I promptly used the return envelope to mail in my contribution: one of my previous columns relating the deleterious effects of present-day atmospheric pollution on one of our humble Chicago neighborhoods as an example of the woeful misuse of advanced technology in a society where too many decisions affecting too many people are made by far too few. I want to be sure that my name stays on the honor roll. Let the custodians of that honor roll continue to wrack their brains over who in Hell C. C. Redcloud is!

It has been noted in this column how the current anti-smoking campaign is a convenient smokescreen for the industrial polluters. I remember that when the issue of black lung came up before the politicians, one of the most august of their number remarked that miners might have black lung because they smoke too much!

The tobacco magnates know they have a sizable portion of the population hooked anyway, so they don't mind taking a few bad raps from the media. They no longer can advertise on the tube, but the printed media are still replete with full-color advertisements ensuring financial, emotional, and sexual success if only you'll smoke their brand of pulp paper-coated baby pap. It doesn't bother the cigarette manufacturers in the least that the American Medical Association says smoking is dangerous to health.

I wonder if our esteemed medical mafia is ever going to warn people about auto-exhaust fumes? Will the AMA be courageous and principled enough to take on the combined auto and fuel-oil industries? After all, one can avoid smokers, but it's a lot harder to avoid automobiles. Yet it would be lovely to see streets bearing notices saying "Thank you for not driving!"

Unfortunately, such is not in the immediate offing. Like the tobacco industry, which wants to see everyone hooked on cigarettes, a much bigger conglomeration wants to see everyone saddled with their own two-ton carbon-monoxide barfer, despite our dwindling fossil-fuel resources. And the public transportation systems are helping them out by discontinuing rail and urban transport service.

Here in our fair Windy City, the local transit authority is planning to discontinue several routes, which would put a big inconvenience on a hell of a lot of people. Of course more and more people no longer need the bus to go to work, since they are no longer working, and consequently have less money to go to stores and shopping centers. What the hell; let them walk to the public-aid offices!

Marlon Brando refused his Oscar for his portrayal of Don Vito. Will Ronald Reagan refuse his Oscar for his portrayal of Don Vito?

C. C. Redcloud

OH, MY GOD: In case you haven't suspected as much, Michael Novak, in his book *Towards a Theology of the Corporation*, declares that "The modern business corporation [is] a much despised incarnation of God's presence in this world." It's bad enough to live in a capitalist society. But to be expected to worship it?

Editorial:

AFL-CIO: Beating a Dead Horse

The AFL-CIO's recent report on the situation of US unions (see article this issue) might have made sense 30 years ago, when capitalism was riding high and could afford to deal with the business unions if they could in turn guarantee labor peace. Indeed, the AFL-CIO—as this report admits—has been stagnating since the late 1950s, and is now actually losing members. This stagnation is attributed to changing patterns of employment, high unemployment levels, government hostility, and stepped-up employer attacks aided by a labor law that does not even inconvenience bosses in their anti-union activities.

These last two factors are discussed in a section entitled "The Failure of the Law", which bemoans the fact that "Unions now face employers who are bent on avoiding unionization at all costs and who are left largely free to do so by a law that has proven to be impotent and a Labor Board that is inert." If this realization was leading the AFL-CIO to bury its illusions, a moment of silent remembrance might be in order. But in the face of all the evidence to the contrary, the AFL-CIO intends to persist in placating bosses, relying on labor laws drafted to bring an unruly labor movement under control and to suppress direct action and revolutionary unionism.

The IWW Preamble forthrightly states that the working class and the employing class have nothing in common. Time and again, the bosses have shown that they recognize this fundamental truth, crushing workers' attempts at organization, cutting our wages, forcing us to work ever faster, killing us on the job because it's cheaper to pay death and sickness benefits than to make jobs

safe. Indeed, it is because our interests stand diametrically opposed to those of the bosses that unions are organized.

But there have always been "unions" whose leaders would sooner cut a deal with the boss than carry out the difficult task of prosecuting the class war. Indeed, our Preamble notes the role of trade unions in misleading workers into the belief that they share common interests with their employers, going on to note that "Instead of the conservative motto 'A fair day's wage for a fair day's work', we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword 'Abolition of the wage system!'"

Once again we see the AFL-CIO embrace the interests of the bosses, arguing that workers are entitled only to a share of the wealth we create (indeed, they now go so far as to advance the ridiculous claim that management and capital contribute to the creation of wealth). But as long as we allow the bosses to steal the greater part—or any part—of what we produce; as long as we permit them to place an army of overseers and other parasites upon our backs; as long as we permit them to pass laws regulating how we may wage our struggle; as long as we permit them to divide us by trade, by industry, by employer, and by borders... so long will we suffer the bosses' attacks. Business unionism is bankrupt; it became obsolete decades ago. What is needed, both to defend ourselves against the ongoing bosses' offensive and to end our exploitation once and for all, is revolutionary industrial unionism of the sort advocated and practiced by the IWW.

Jon Bekken

'Go Back to Russia'

I'm sure you've all experienced it at least once: You're walking a picket line, protesting against the President, nuclear arms, or the latest US invasion, and somebody passing by yells "Go to Russia!" Perfect strangers, who have never even met you before, tell you to spend some time in the Ukraine, go skiing in the Ural Mountains, or just have a splendid two weeks in Leningrad, perhaps including lunch at the Winter Palace. Only in America could fellow workers be so hospitable as to tell others where to spend their vacations.

When I first heard this proverbial refrain, I was thrilled to death and gladly thanked the friendly passerby for his welcome advice.

"I plan on it, I plan on it," I joyously replied.

However, I began to have second thoughts when people uttered a slight variation of this chant: "Go back to Russia!" How did they know, I thought, that my family on my father's side left Czarist Russia more than 70 years ago because they preferred American sweatshops to Russian sweatshops? And even if they did come over on the same boat and knew my grandparents, how would they recognize me? I wasn't even a fetus at the time. Surely, either they were intelligence agents or something nasty was going on here.

When I finally caught on to the hostility behind the statement, I became very depressed. Why did the Bolsheviks have to take over Russia? I thought. Such a cold country. I would have much preferred being told "Go to the Bahamas!" or "Go to Southern California!"

As I analyzed the situation further, I began to compare the differences between the US and "Russia". Every picture of the Soviet Union shows our fellow workers waiting in long lines. I thought about this image while spending two hours in line at the supermarket, one hour at the bank (twice a week), and another at the post office. Not to mention the lines at movie theaters, skating rinks, or token booths, where we wait for the means to get stalled in the subway for at least half an hour a day. But these American experiences are seen as isolated in-

Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World

THE WORKING CLASS AND THE EMPLOYING CLASS HAVE NOTHING IN COMMON! THERE CAN BE NO PEACE SO LONG AS HUNGER AND WANT ARE FOUND AMONG MILLIONS OF WORKING PEOPLE AND THE FEW, WHO MAKE UP THE EMPLOYING CLASS, HAVE ALL THE GOOD THINGS OF LIFE.

BETWEEN THESE TWO CLASSES A STRUGGLE MUST GO ON UNTIL THE WORKERS OF THE WORLD ORGANIZE AS A CLASS, TAKE POSSESSION OF THE EARTH AND THE MACHINERY OF PRODUCTION, AND ABOLISH THE WAGE SYSTEM.

WE FIND THAT THE CENTERING OF THE MANAGEMENT OF INDUSTRIES INTO FEWER AND FEWER HANDS MAKES THE TRADE UNIONS UNABLE TO COPE WITH THE EVER GROWING POWER OF THE EMPLOYING CLASS. THE TRADE UNIONS FOSTER A STATE OF AFFAIRS WHICH ALLOWS ONE SET OF WORKERS TO BE PITTED AGAINST ANOTHER SET OF WORKERS IN THE SAME INDUSTRY, THEREBY HELPING DEFEAT ONE ANOTHER IN WAGE WARS. MOREOVER, THE TRADE UNIONS AID THE EMPLOYING CLASS TO MISLEAD THE WORKERS INTO THE BELIEF THAT THE WORKING CLASS HAVE INTERESTS IN COMMON WITH THEIR EMPLOYERS.

THESE CONDITIONS CAN BE CHANGED AND THE INTEREST OF THE WORKING CLASS UPHOLD ONLY BY AN ORGANIZATION FORMED IN SUCH A WAY THAT ALL ITS MEMBERS IN ANY ONE INDUSTRY, OR IN ALL INDUSTRIES IF NECESSARY, CEASE WORK WHENEVER A STRIKE OR LOCKOUT IS ON IN ANY DEPARTMENT THEREOF, THUS MAKING AN INJURY TO ONE AN INJURY TO ALL.

INSTEAD OF THE CONSERVATIVE MOTTO, "A FAIR DAY'S WAGE FOR FAIR DAY'S WORK," WE MUST INSCRIBE ON OUR BANNER THE REVOLUTIONARY WATCHWORD, "ABOLITION OF THE WAGE SYSTEM."

IT IS THE HISTORIC MISSION OF THE WORKING CLASS TO DO AWAY WITH CAPITALISM. THE ARMY OF PRODUCTION MUST BE ORGANIZED, NOT ONLY FOR THE EVERY-DAY STRUGGLE WITH CAPITALISTS, BUT ALSO TO CARRY ON PRODUCTION WHEN CAPITALISM SHALL HAVE BEEN OVERTHROWN. BY ORGANIZING INDUSTRIALLY WE ARE FORMING THE STRUCTURE OF THE NEW SOCIETY WITHIN THE SHELL OF THE OLD.

stances that occur despite our efficient system, while the lines our Soviet fellow workers wait in are portrayed as a direct result of their system. I know American workers truly appreciate this difference.

So now whenever I'm told to "Go back to Russia!" I think back to something my step-grandmother told me. When she was getting signatures on petitions to demand Social Security in the 1930s and '40s, passersby called her "Communist!" "Now," she says, "all these people who called me a Communist are retired and living on Social Security."

So the next time you get red-baited, just remember that you're on the receiving end of an old American tradition. And if you can ever get the money up, don't be afraid to "Go to Russia."

Bruce Kayton

PRISON OFFICIALS DECLARE IW CONTRABAND

Two members of the IWW—Paul Brumfield and John Perotti—have had their copies of the *Industrial Worker* confiscated by prison officials who declared the paper contraband. This seizure is in apparent retaliation for appeals filed by these fellow workers challenging the seizure last January of their IWW membership cards on the bizarre ground that contraband might be concealed between the dues stamps and the pages of the cards.

In correspondence with the IWW over this matter, Ron Marshall, warden of the Southern Ohio Correctional (sic) Facility, claimed that allowing these FWs to possess their membership cards would "have profound implications in the management of the 19,000-plus adult felons currently confined in this state", and asked that we trust his judgment in this matter.

Readers are asked to write to the following officials, protesting these actions and insisting that FWs Brumfield and Perotti be permitted to receive the *Industrial Worker* and other union publications without interference and have their membership cards returned to them: Richard Seiter, Director, Department of Rehabilitation and Corrections, 1050 Freeway Drive North, Columbus, Ohio 43216; Ron C. Marshall, Superintendent (SOCF), PO Box 45699, Lucasville, Ohio 45699-0001.

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AN INJURY TO ONE IS AN INJURY TO ALL

ONE UNION ONE LABEL ONE ENEMY

Industrial Worker

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Mission Foods Strike Betrayed

On February 13th the bitter seven-month strike of the San Francisco Bay Area Mission Foods workers came to an end. But while the strike may have ended, the bitterness lives on. Despite a 61-12 vote to sign a new contract with the giant tortilla plant, a majority of the former strikers say they are displeased with the contract. "In my opinion, we didn't lose," said nine-year Mission veteran Casmiro Perez at a February 13th press conference where former strikers and supporters from the Latino community voiced their anger and frustration with the union's contract-ratification process. "In my opinion, the union betrayed us."

Some 95 Mission Foods workers walked out on July 5th, 1984, when the company slashed wages by 20 to 30% and eliminated almost all benefits. It was not until a full month after the strike began that their union, Local 28 of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders Union, anted up with \$25 a week in strike benefits. Local 28 has been in considerable disarray since the 1978 conviction of former union president Ray Lane for embezzling union funds. Lane also left the union fighting a quarter-million-dollar sexual-harassment settlement in a case brought against him by two women members of the local. Only recently has Local 28 emerged from trustee-

UNION SCABBING HAMPERS PAN-AM STRIKE

As the *Industrial Worker* goes to press, union scabbing is threatening to sink the strike by some 5800 transport workers (mechanics, baggage handlers, flight dispatchers, and food-service workers). Although the strike began (February 28th) with the support of pilots, flight attendants, fuel-truck drivers, and ticket agents, grounding all domestic and most international flights, pilots and flight engineers soon began crossing the lines. On March 20th, according to a *New York Times* report, flight attendants also decided to cross the lines, and Pan-Am was operating at 36% of normal capacity.

Pan-Am is demanding massive reductions in pension and health-care benefits, job-security concessions, and speedups. Flight attendants are now working under a 30-day cooling-off period (set by a Federal mediator) which expires April 1st, and they may strike when that deadline expires.

AP PARTS UPDATE

A modest victory in the battle against concessions was won in Toledo, Ohio thanks to the nine-month strike against AP Auto Parts by 400 members of Local 14 of the United Auto Workers (UAW). The strike began May 2nd, 1984, when AP unilaterally cut wages and benefits to the tune of \$5.84 per hour. Included in the cuts were wages, pensions, cost-of-living (COLA) provisions, vacations—the whole gamut. When the strike ended (February 11th) the workers had recouped a portion of the wage cut, retained their COLA, got back their 30-and-out pension clause, restored seniority and recall rights, and gotten amnesty for the 21 workers fired during the walkout.

Solidarity played a big part in this battle. Over the nine months of the strike not one union member crossed the line to return to work, despite court injunctions and constant harassment and intimidation of pickets by the strike-breaking Nuckols and Associates "security" agency hired by AP prior to the strike in anticipation of the walkout. The solidarity felt by Toledo-area workers was made plain early in the battle when over 4,000 turned out for a mass picket on May 21st. This picket was attacked by police with water cannons and rubber bullets, and workers fought back with anything they could lay their hands on. If this willingness to fight had been capitalized on, the strike might have been shortened. Still and all, the AP strike shows that in the battle against concessions, struggle and solidarity do pay off.

MH

MAY DAY GREETINGS

IN MEMORY OF
MY UNCLE

ANTTI SAIKKONEN

BORN 1891 IN FINLAND
DIED 1917 IN BRITISH COLUMBIA

LOGGER, MINER,
AND MEMBER OF
THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS
OF THE WORLD

HARRY SIITONEN
SAN FRANCISCO

ship (during which the international union took effective control of the local). With a new election coming up, the tortilla workers complained that the union leadership seemed more interested in politicking than in striking.

Despite the local's lack of interest, the mostly middle-aged Chicano and Mexican women who made up the bulk of the Mission Foods workforce maintained a round-the-clock picket line at the company's Richmond plant for months on end and pressed their boycott of Mission tortillas throughout California. They had the active support of the United Farm Workers as well as of the Alameda County Central Labor Council, but not that of their own Contra Costa County Central Labor Council.

Last December a contract offer similar to that later accepted was voted down 36 to 4. Two months later Local 28 leadership presented the same contract (offering wages of \$4.50 an hour), solicited the votes of workers who had crossed the picket lines and returned to work, and rammed the contract through, apparently anxious to settle fast.



CLARENCE PENDLETON, Ronnie Reagan's gift to the US Commission on Civil Rights, has taken to denouncing a "new racism" in the US. Might he have been referring to the 23% increase in racial incidents verified by the Chicago Police Department from 1983 to 1984, or perhaps the cover-up over the killing of eight blacks while in the custody of New York police last year? Not at all. He was complaining that "... our so-called black leaders are spending every moment peddling pain, complaining about budget cuts in food-stamp programs, job-training programs, legal services, and Aid to Families with Dependent Children." These "new racists" maintain that "blacks are still unequal", which they attribute to the "legacy of racism".

LABOR AND THE LAW

On Christmas Day 1976, Hotel Employees struck three Miami Beach hotels. Three weeks later the union settled, but soon afterward management weeded out 300 workers as "unqualified" and fired them. The NLRB ordered their reinstatement back in 1979, and this winter they finally got their jobs back, along with around five million in back pay.

The Supreme Court has ruled that federal wage law applies to public-transit workers in San Antonio, raising the hopes of municipal employees across the country. About 1 in 15 are now on the public payroll nationwide.

New Jersey enacted a law giving workers the right to know what hazardous materials they are handling, whether in manufacture, construction, or agriculture. But a federal judge stepped on this, claiming it was OSHA's jurisdiction.

The International Federation of Chemical Workers has released the results of a study on linkage between formaldehyde and cancer of the nose and throat. Unions have asked OSHA to issue an emergency temporary standard as a result of the study, but OSHA is balking on this despite prodding from federal courts to get on with it.

Top officers of the Letter Carriers and Postal Workers and the American Federation of Government Employees all got valentines from the Government advising them that unless they quit their jobs in Government service, they could be prosecuted under the Hatch Act for supporting the losing party in last fall's election.

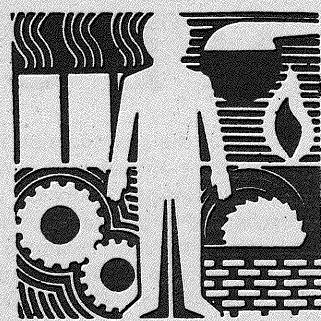
The Ohio Supreme Court has ruled that workers are entitled to compensation for injuries received at work whether they result from an accident or from years of exposure. They can also sue employers for additional damages where job conditions create a "substantial certainty" of injury.

In the early '60s the Armada Corporation moved its tailpipe plant, run under the name of Formed Tubes, from Michigan to Alabama to escape the UAW. But in 1977 its workers joined the UAW anyway and won a contract and raises. In 1981 the company said it would have to cut pay to \$3.35 or close. The union refused, so Formed Tubes closed and "sold out" to Grand Tubes. This winter an NLRB judge decided they were both the same firm, and ordered re-instatement with lost income.

The NLRB has deserted its earlier stand that let union health and safety inspectors examine dangerous situations with its decision that Holyoke (Massachusetts) Water Power had a right to prevent an Electrical Workers staff hygienist from entering a fan room to measure the noise level.

Fred Thompson's

labor in north america



Jobs are dropping in manufacture and rising in lower-paying service sectors. This has hit union membership and re-focused organizing campaigns. There are more part-time jobs and temporary jobs, making organizing harder. And according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics there are about five million who hold two jobs, working an average of 15 hours at their part-time jobs. Perhaps that's why "work stoppages" in 1984 were at a 38-year low: only 62 major ones involving only 376,000 workers.

Yet the United Food and Commercial Workers report that in 1984 they organized 65,248 new members, the most for any year in their history. They have avoided the NLRB and sought recognition through card checks, using "old-fashioned organizing" as well as informational picketing, protests against low-wage enterprises, billboards, handbills, radio, TV, and corporate campaigns. Yet their president, W. H. Wynn, tells them that sometimes concessions are the only way to protect their elder members, who are usually at top pay as long as the store runs union, but out of work for a long time if the store shuts down. There's enough truth there to make unions look for alternative arrangements, such as seniority in larger geographic units involving several employers.

Young people are hard-hit, and with far-flung consequences. When the Peace Corps asked for 600 volunteers it got 8,000 pronto. The National Network of Runaway Services concluded that close to half of all runaways are "throwaways", escaping empty pantries and parental abuse.

A related fact: A census study shows that in 1982-83, for the first time, cities across the country spent more on policing us than on teaching us: \$10.7 billion on the cops and only \$9.8 billion on the schools. Yet when Missouri schoolteachers, the lowest-paid in the nation, threatened to walk out state-wide in February, a judge stopped them with an injunction.

Industry in the US had a global advantage in the '50s, and lost it partly through investing the surplus its workers produced in newer plants abroad instead of in modernization, and partly through the natural advantage that defeated and devastated countries have in rebuilding with technologies more modern than those of the "winners". The growth of service industries and decline of others is a normal symptom of this situation. The Population Reference Bureau figures that since 1900, 30 million have come to the US and 10 million have left. Since the '60s the outward flow has increased to nearly 150,000 a year, with most emigrants heading for Canada or West Germany.

The AFL-CIO Executive Council has announced that for the first time in its history it will support a freeze on defense spending. Economists have pointed out for some time that defense spending doesn't make more jobs, but does cut employment in such vital areas as road building. (Opposing large military budgets is really not altogether new to the labor movement: Until the First World War, that's the position unions everywhere usually took. Then labor leaders were taken into government posts, and lots of people forgot how Sam Gompers had described the folly of young workers in different countries getting into uniforms of different colors to go forth and shoot holes through each other.

Paperworkers and Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers expect to be merged into one union of 285,000 members by next year. The merger talks between the typographical workers and the other printing trades fell through, however, partly because in many areas there was pressure to go with the Teamsters so they won't deliver scab papers if the printers go on strike.... To practice solidarity, union structures need to be re-designed to permit solidarity. If we get into one big union, why shouldn't we all help each other? The Missouri Portland Cement plant in Jopla has been on strike since last June to resist a four-dollar-an-hour wage cut and other takebacks. Why shouldn't construction workers refuse to handle their cement?... The UAW points out that LTV's chairman is drawing \$805,000 a year plus other plums while resisting any serious wage negotiations with the union; so its members are "working to rule" and refusing overtime.

The United Mine Workers report that their selective strike program beat concession demands in Arizona, Colorado, Utah, and most mines in Alabama, but continues in the mine country where Kentucky, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and West Virginia meet. One struck mine, the Massey mine, is largely owned by the Fluor Corporation, so pickets went to its Richmond office to tell the public that Fluor's coal mines in South Africa keep their miners in guarded barracks and let them see their families only once a year.

When Champion Lumber laid off 2,000 in February, union economist Denny Scott told the Oregon Legislature that the shutdown came about not because of market conditions, but because Champion had borrowed a billion to buy up the Saint Regis Paper Company and got squeezed. Why do we let capitalists ruin folks' lives?

AFL-CIO: Turning a New Page?

Visiting the posh seaside resort of Bal Harbour, Florida for their annual mid-winter meeting, the AFL-CIO Executive Council endorsed a report calling for new approaches to organizing workers, negotiating with employers, and public relations. The report was prompted by a long-term decline in union strength that has left less than 19% of US workers in unions (see article last issue). But despite the predictable media hype (President Albert Shanker of the American Federation of Teachers called the report "a revolutionary document"), there are few indications that the AFL-CIO has committed itself to substantive reform.

The report advocates labor-management co-operation, arguing that "Organized labor believes that each worker is entitled to a fair day's pay for a fair day's work. That pay should include a share in the profits the worker helps to create . . ." Speaking to reporters February 21st, AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland said there was no cause for hostility toward management, termed class conflict an "invidious consideration", and called for the development of a co-operative relationship.

Following this line of reasoning, the report suggests that "a bargaining approach based on solving problems through arbitration or mediation rather than through ultimate recourse to economic weapons may be most effective" in some shops, extending no-strike agreements

even to the bargaining process, and endorses so-called "quality of work-life" programs which have been used to implement speedups and to foster an illusion of joint worker-management interests.

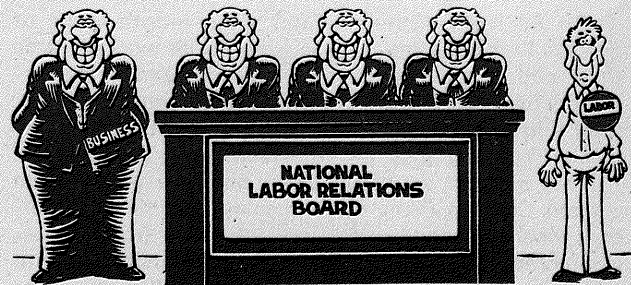
These developments take place in a context in which the AFL-CIO's own surveys show that job dissatisfaction is rising, but that workers are increasingly skeptical of the benefits of unionization. Following three years of union-enforced concession pacts which have held wage gains for unionized workers below those given to their unorganized counterparts, and in which union "leaders" have argued that workers must make sacrifices to enable their bosses to stay in business, more than half of all workers (whether organized or not) now believe that their employers are paying all they can afford in wages and benefits, despite record industry profits.

Only 47% of non-union workers believe that workers can be more effective in insuring democracy in the workplace and redressing their grievances by engaging in collective action. Similarly, and quite understandably, more than half of all workers believe that union leaders no longer represent their members and force their members to go along with decisions they don't like.

Decades of business-union practices have seriously weakened all unions, eroded their organizing base, and spread confusion and distrust among our fellow workers. Yet the AFL-CIO proposes to address this problem not by changing course, but by catering to the illusions they have created and mounting a massive public-relations campaign. So the report suggests that unions respond to the new situation by moving away from "adversarial" relationships with employers. Though they do also suggest addressing issues such as pay inequity and workplace health and safety, in an era of harmony between labor and management (meaning labor subservience) there is no viable way such laudable goals can be pursued, let alone attained.

The centerpiece of the report, however, is the proposal that AFL-CIO affiliates sign up "associate members", selling union services such as health insurance and job training for an annual fee. These "members" would not have the right to participate in union affairs. Such second-class memberships might also be offered to former union members and to union supporters in unorganized workplaces. There is no mention, however, of attempting to involve these "members" in the labor movement, or of encouraging them to organize their fellow workers for direct action to win better wages and working conditions.

Though some of our more cynical fellow workers



might view all this as a scam to expand the dues base while enabling unions to get better deals on insurance packages through volume sales, a massive public-relations campaign is in the works to convince us otherwise. A massive advertising blitz to improve labor's image is suggested, along with increased communications with members to give them a feeling of participation in, and control of, their unions. An expanded committee structure, expanded community activities, and radio/TV programming are explicitly counterposed to efforts to draw members to union meetings.

The report does recommend that unions whose members work for the same employer should co-operate, especially to help newly-organized workers gain an initial contract. That such an admonition is necessary—and that AFL-CIO unions continue to cross each other's picket lines—proves the total bankruptcy of business unionism. Similarly, affiliates are encouraged to organize the estimated two million workers who are currently covered by AFL-CIO contracts (out of a total membership of 13.7 million), but have not joined the union(s) representing them.

Finally, despite the dismal failures this strategy has produced to date, the report proposes devoting increased effort to lobbying and political campaigns. Indeed, when Kirkland spoke to reporters February 18th, he made it clear that the AFL-CIO is incapable of even considering more effective strategies. The transcript of that exchange (issued by the AFL-CIO) reads: "Mr. Kirkland, you say that workers have to wait another two years and elect more Democrats? That's the only thing they can do?" (Kirkland:) "What do you propose? A general strike? Hello, Mr. Trotsky."

Red-baiting, relying on the Democrats, and burying one's head in the sand *may* be a viable strategy for the labor bureaucrats to retain their power; but it certainly offers nothing to the labor movement as a whole.

JB

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AN INJURY TO ONE IS AN INJURY TO ALL

Sound of a Distant Drum

The most disheartening words for any group of men and women forced into a long and bitter strike must be those declaimed by the leadership that "Brothers and sisters, we will march back with dignity and heads held high." Neither the State nor the bosses give a damn how the workers go back to the field, the bench, or the mine, as long as defeat is recognized and they return to the political or economic lash. And after 12 long and angry months the British miners have been forced to accept defeat, as both daily and nightly the police-guarded scab coaches drive through the picket lines.

That the Tory party and the right-wing press are sick with excitement is plain to see; for this can be counted as yet another victory for Ma Thatcher on behalf of the British middle class, and she can chalk up the breaking of the miners' strike with her sinking of the Argentine floating battle wagon *Belgrano* and as another spit in the eye of the music-loving Edward Heath, the very ex leader of the Tory party. For as the Prime Minister of a Conservative Government, Eddy went the way of all flesh meatball size when he failed to beat his miners' strike, and his Tory Government were kicked out of office as a result.

But now Ma Thatcher has given the British middle class their sweet revenge, and they are howling for vengeance. Mines will be closed, village communities will die, the British trade-union movement will take one more inglorious step back in ignoble retreat, and men will stay in prison. Prison? you query with a slight raising of the eyebrow. But it is not an emotive use of the word, but a bleak statement of fact; for there are 600 men facing firings and prison terms because of their involvement in this 12-month mining strike, and one of the cardinal demands of the strikers' leadership was the demand for amnesty.

If this were farce, one could scream with jolly laughter. However it is not farce, but coal-black tragedy; for history has offered the British working class a macabre rerun of 1926, and in that awful late-night rerun of that agony printed in tears on the pages of British working-class history, the godfathers in their snug offices never learned from the betrayal of the British miners who had to suffer through that nine-month lockout.

The British miners have been betrayed; let there be no questioning that. And those who will always bear the guilt for that when the history of our times is written will be the godfathers in Transport House cozily tucked up only minutes away from the embalmed corpses in the British Museum. For they failed their rank and file like unto generals of a victorious army who, fearing the noise

of Christmas crackers, saw their ordained role as that of scavenging camp followers seeking out tarnished medals and tainted glory among the fallen of the very men and women they failed to lead.

There will be inquests and recriminations, and bloody fists will be raised in bars and clubs, but men will remain in prison. And the political and ideological jackals who sought to feed their worthless egos on the miners' strike can be dismissed with a wave of the hand. They penned their lies and excuses with all the babblings of rejected lovers—not kicked out of the connubial bed, but never even invited between the warm sheets; so as ever they aimed their unnoticed bile in the direction of Arthur Scargill. But this I know: that in my lifetime of political, ideological, and trade-union leadership betrayal, Arthur Scargill is one of the few people to emerge with honor as a working-class leader. And quote me not the sages, comrades, for I have no faith in leaders—only in individual men and women. But the striking miners chose, and in God's name they chose well.

Arthur Moyse, London

MORE CORRECTIONS

Our article on "The Decline of US Unionism" last issue (Page 5) was jumbled somewhat through a paste-up error. In the section on the Postwar Turning Point, a line was inserted at the end of the first column of type which should have appeared in the final sentence of that section (about three fourths of the way down the second column). Thus the final sentence of that section should have read: As part of the steel settlement, US Steel raised prices enough to net it more than twice what it paid out in wage hikes, and other corporations followed suit.

Also in that article a chart was run which contradicted data in the first paragraph. The chart (on union membership by industry) utilized a different system of categorization, accounting for the discrepancies.

Finally, our article on the British miners' strike (April 1985, Page 4) contained two typographical errors. MacGregor, chairman of the National Coal Board, set about "rationalizing" (not nationalizing) the coal industry (it had, of course, long since been nationalized). And the miners *tapped* (not mapped) new sources of strength and solidarity, enabling them to hold out for so many months.

"EYE JOBS": According to the Archives of Otolaryngology, published by the American Medical Association, an increasing number of Asian-Americans are having plastic surgery done on their eyelids to give their eyes a less-Oriental look.

TUC Betrays Coal Strike

A year after they first walked out last March, the last of Britain's striking coal miners have returned to work. The issue which prompted the strike—pit closures—still remains unresolved, as does the fate of more than 600 strikers discharged for picket-line activity. Most miners returned to work March 5th after the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) narrowly voted to call off the strike, though some 28,000 stayed out for several days more, demanding that the Coal Board reinstate the fired miners.

Although thousands of miners bitterly condemned the decision to call off the strike, jeering the officials who announced the decision, the NUM clearly felt that the strike had been lost and the survival of the union was at stake. Nearly half of Britain's miners were scabbing when the strike was called off, many from the most productive and automated pits. Throughout the strike, the miners mounted mass pickets (frequently coming into conflict with police who effectively put entire communities under martial law) and succeeded in mobilizing substantial community support, especially financial contributions. However the much-needed industrial solidarity which could have won the strike was never forthcoming, leaving the striking miners faced with huge coal stocks combined with massive imports from Poland, South Africa, and other countries. The Trade Union Congress and Labor Party bureaucrats maneuvered to short-circuit all efforts to expand the strike or cut off the flow of scab coal. (Indeed, Labor Party leader Neil Kinnock has now come out in support of the Coal Board's firings of active strikers.)

With a British union membership of some 10 million workers, solidly organized in such key sectors as dockworkers (who unloaded the coal to break the strike), rail and transport workers (who moved it to power plants and other industrial sites), and power and steel workers (who burned the scab coal), the strike clearly could have been won. Token strikes in some of these industries did slow the flow of scab coal, but the TUC and its union steadfastly refused to make any attempt whatever to win the strike through industrial solidarity and direct action.

Strikes cannot be won by hand-to-hand fighting with the well-armed police and Army (such tactics, although sometimes necessary, all too often lead only to broken heads), or by appealing to union bureaucrats and politicians. Britain's coal miners tried these tactics for a year before conceding defeat. The necessary solidarity must be built among the rank and file, by workers who realize that only by sticking together can we hope to defeat the bosses' attacks.

The coal strike is over, but the issues which caused it have not been resolved. The National Coal Board remains committed to pit closures; speedups and new technology will lead to still more firings (at Selby 4,000 miners are

now producing the same amount of coal formerly produced by 20,000 workers); 600 miners stand fired for strike activities; and the Coal Board has announced that there will be no pay hikes for 1984 and 1985 unless the 16-month ban on overtime is lifted and its members take

no reprisals against scabs. The mine workers clearly cannot accept these conditions, and they are sure to be resisted through a campaign of direct action on the job. The extent to which this campaign is successful—and to which British workers are able to resist the new attacks sure to be launched by the bosses in the wake of this defeat—depends on solidarity, both within the coal industry and throughout all industry. JB



Mississippi Teachers Strike

As the *Industrial Worker* goes to press, the Mississippi teachers' strike has ended (after the State Legislature overrode a veto to grant part of the strikers' wage demands). The following article was written immediately following the Governor's veto:

"They are talking about us going back in good faith, but there is nothing to have faith in", Dora Sue Farrell told a reporter March 8th. Farrell, a high-school teacher from Hattiesburg, is one of over 9,000 teachers striking in Mississippi. The teachers are tired of waiting for the State Government to do something about Mississippi's public schools—which have been called the worst in the US—and especially resent the fact that they are also the lowest-paid teachers in the country. The average pay for US teachers is about \$22,000 a year, but in Mississippi they're lucky to make \$16,000.

Three years ago the teachers in Mississippi were given a lot of promises. Under the administration of former Governor William Winter, an educational-reform act was passed. The certification requirements for teachers were made more strict, and teacher responsibilities for monitoring student development were increased. In return for this added workload, the 1982 act promised that "to the extent possible [Mississippi] teachers would receive salaries that are at least equal to the average" of neighboring Southern states (about \$3,000 more per year than in Mississippi).

To pay for these reforms, the Mississippi Legislature passed the largest tax increase in the history of the state. Both the educational reforms and the tax increase received heavy lobbying support from the local teachers' union, the Mississippi Association of Educators, an affiliate of the National Education Association. After the legislation had passed, however, Governor Winter discovered a state "budget shortage", and the newly-raised taxes that had been earmarked for education were spent elsewhere.

Still more lobbying and an election year passed, and the promises made to the teachers had not been kept. Finally, after Mississippi legislators had voted a \$6,000-a-year pay increase for themselves, they offered teachers a \$2,000-a-year raise. New Governor Bill Allain then stepped in and announced that he would veto any teacher pay increase above \$1500, since he was opposed to big government spending.

To many teachers it became clear that the State Government had no intention of keeping its promises. In mid-February, several teachers'-union locals voted to strike. The State responded on February 23rd with a court injunction prohibiting strikes for 10 days, and the Mississippi Association of Educators advised its members to obey the injunction. On Monday, however, teachers in three counties began setting up pickets at schools.

The strike began to spread rapidly, despite the court order and the union leadership. By February 26th, 800 teachers were out on strike. Strike votes were passed in George, Jones, Marion, and Wayne Counties, and schools were shut down in Forrest and Lamar Counties. By February 28th, 3400 teachers were on strike in 11 counties

and 6 towns, and the next week the number of strikers rose to 9,000—over a third of all teachers in Mississippi. With almost three quarters of its 13,000 members on strike, the Mississippi Association of Educators called for a statewide strike on March 13th.

The strike took a week-long "recess" March 11th through 15th, when Mississippi schools had been scheduled to take a spring break. Just before the strike was to resume, the State Legislature approved a bill raising the teachers' salaries an average of \$4400 over three years (with \$1,000 in the third year tied to an unspecified "merit" scheme), accompanied by strong anti-strike legislation. But Governor Allain vetoed the pay increase on March 18th, and the state court cited the Mississippi Association of Educators for contempt of court for its statewide strike call. The union leaders at the state level reversed their earlier flirtation with direct action and asked the teachers to return to work.

Public sympathy so far has been on the side of the striking teachers. Parents feel that the teachers' demands for a seven-thousand-dollar pay increase over two years are well justified. A number of parents and students have been helping out on the picket lines, serving coffee and doughnuts and lending moral support. There have also been reports that truck drivers making deliveries to the schools have been honoring the picket lines. How long this support will last in the face of an anti-teacher media campaign is not certain.

Aides to Governor Allain have begun to play on racist sentiments to weaken public sympathy for the strikers. The Governor is trying to portray himself as a defender of public education from white segregationists who send their children to private schools and thus would oppose increased taxes to improve public schools. The media have begun to pick up on Allain's line that the strikers may be stirring up racist opposition to any improvement in public education at all. For example a recent article in the *New York Times* was headlined "Mississippi Teacher Walkouts Are Viewed by Some as a Threat to Progress". Meanwhile, the Governor's invitation to racist strike-breakers is clear.

This strike could well become a crucial turning point for teachers' unionism in the US. Rather than follow the usual practice of striking a single school district, Mississippi schoolteachers are striking throughout an entire state, demonstrating a solidarity which has not been seen before. If their strike is won, teachers across the country won't be slow to learn the lesson.

Jeff Stein

THE UN-CONVENTIONAL WISDOM

The ending of the British coal miners' 357-day strike is headline news today. By the time this gets into print it will be history. "Lessons of history"? What about portents and omens?

Does anyone remember President Calvin Coolidge? "Silent Cal", they called him. But listen:

"The business of government," said Coolidge, "is business."

You'd better believe it. The British strike lays it out for us. The Government—British, US, Polish, take your pick—is in the business of protecting business. The miners' strike shows us a developing pattern: The unions are going to get knocked off one by one until workers as a class give muscle and support to the group whose ox is being gored.

It will be risky for the first workers who decide to act in solidarity with their fellow workers. No statements in the news items about how or if railroaders and dockers who gave at least some support to the miners were punished. This country has been honing its laws almost four decades now, for use against acts of worker solidarity.

The Iron Virgin, or whatever they call her, is savoring her "victory". And her ideological light o' love in the White House will be matching her, savor for savor.

Capital is throwing down the gauntlet, saying to labor "It's subservience we want; it's subservience we'll get." No class struggle.

Well, as long as capital can keep us workers flinching from meeting that challenge, there really isn't any class struggle, is there?

Pervicacia

WAGE SLAVE'S DICTIONARY

Foreign Competition: A company's subsidiary in another country.

MAY DAY GREETINGS

TO MY SON, X328017

WHO JOINED THE IWW ON HIS OWN
WITHOUT ANY PERSUASION FROM
HIS FATHER, X18584

MAY DAY GREETINGS TO REBEL WORKERS EVERYWHERE

"The union which says 'there is no occasion for war between employer and employee' and can see nothing wrong in the wage system, which places the worker's life and liberty at the disposal of any and every employer, cannot be expected to do justice with each other and among themselves. Such a union is no union at all." (Albert Parsons, 1885)

For a World Without Bosses
Jon Bekken, X331117

MAY DAY GREETINGS
A MESSAGE OF HOPE
TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN
CONGRESS OF TRADE UNIONS,
SOLIDARNOSC, AND ALL FELLOW
WORKERS OF THE WORLD.
GEORGE LA FOREST

GIVE TO THE SUSTAINING FUND!

El Salvador

(continued from Page 1)

Background to the Current Crisis

Five years into El Salvador's bloody civil war, the ubiquitous intrusion of the US Government into Salvadoran affairs has grown steadily. This military, economic, and political intervention, and the corresponding weakness of the Salvadoran regime, have affected every facet of political life in El Salvador.

Washington currently decides whether or not there will be negotiations with the left, what military strategy will be pursued, who will serve as Defense Minister and President, what social reforms will be implemented or continue, what level of fatalities is acceptable before human-rights violations become too prominent, and the level of death-squad activity.

But the growing US involvement in El Salvador and its Central American neighbors does nothing except feed the cycle of violence in the region that has ravaged their economies and further aggravated the social and economic conditions that led to the crisis in the first place.

On October 15th, 1979, a group of officers carried out a bloodless coup against the Salvadoran Government of General Romero. Welcomed by the US, the coup attempted to head off a crisis that had been brewing since late 1976 by offering a middle way between the intransigence of the Romero Government, backed by the oligarchy and big private enterprise, and the radical solutions proposed by organizations that were later to form the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN).

From January 1980 to March 1982 "popular" reform organizations functioned openly, and on January 22nd, 1980 the unity march of the Revolutionary Co-ordinating Committee of the Masses (CRM) brought 150,000 people out into the streets of San Salvador with the support or tacit approval of many professionals, small-business people, public-sector employees, and church groups. The CRM march reflected popular concern that the new junta would seek to divert the groundswell of enthusiasm for social change into tepid reforms under the thumb of the US. This was also one of the bloodiest spells in Salvadoran history, with more than 25,000 political killings.

The reply of the Christian Democratic/Military junta, led by Jose Duarte, to the mass movements and their leaders was to slaughter them. 1980 was a year of growing polarization. The CRM march of January 22nd was machine-gunned, leaving 30 dead and more than 200 injured. A second massacre on March 30th, at the funeral of Archbishop Romero (himself gunned down while saying mass), where the crowd outside the Metropolitan Cathedral was fired on, left at least 35 dead.

Between 1977 and October 1979, political repression caused around 750 deaths in El Salvador, bringing about universal condemnation of the Government as one of the world's worst human-rights violators. Yet the Legal Aid Office of the Archbishopric of San Salvador reported 504 deaths at the hands of the security forces and paramilitary squads in January and February of 1980 alone. By the end of June, the figure had soared to 3,111, by the end of the year to 8,398. In addition, the regime created legal cover for the slaughter. Decree 155 established a nationwide state of siege, Decrees 264 and 265 declared civil disobedience a terrorist act, Decree 296 banned strikes and other labor stoppages, Decree 544 outlawed all labor-union activity, and—by way of a footnote—Decree 507 gave the security forces a free hand in the fight against "subversion".

Founding of the FDR-FMLN

At its founding, the Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR) was a coalition of urban, middle-class, social-democratic groups, including trade unions aligned with the left that had engaged in militant but peaceful protest from the late 1970s until 1980. But the severe repression destroyed these organizations. By 1981 they were empty shells—their members dead, in hiding, or in the hills with the guerrillas. The FDR was reduced to a core of small parties and professional associations that traditionally constituted El Salvador's democratic opposition.

Faced with systematic repression, the popular organizations had no alternative but to go underground and arm themselves. The abduction and killing of six FDR leaders at the end of November 1980 merely served to confirm the logic of the decision to build armies even at the cost of pulling organizers out of mass political work. But the militarization of the conflict, accompanied by a hardening of attitudes, burned many of the bridges that might have helped attract more timid, less politicized sectors of the population.

In devoting all their energies to military concerns after 1980, the popular organizations deprived themselves of the means to attract and absorb political sympathizers. By the time of the FMLN's general offensive in January 1981—the formal outbreak of the civil war—the consequences were evident. The revolutionary forces had no direct support from most of their sympathizers among the general population. It has taken them years to recover from those setbacks.

The FMLN—named after a martyred leader of an earlier uprising—unites five organizations which had been separate and even antagonistic since 1969, each viewing itself as the Marxist-Leninist vanguard in El Salvador. Unity between the organizations within the FMLN since its formation in October 1980 has not come easily (each of the member groups retains its autonomy, and

feuding between two of the groups in 1983 ended in bloodshed), nor has its alliance with the FDR, whose decision to throw in its lot with the FMLN brought it immense problems in asserting its political independence and operating politically within El Salvador. While it is widely recognized among the Western democracies, it is condemned to a clandestine life at home. The security forces insist on branding the FDR and FMLN as one and the same, and hunt both down. Nevertheless, the FDR can be credited in large measure with the new spirit of compromise visible within the FMLN.

At the moment, FMLN-FDR strategy seems to revolve around three basic points: reviving the mass movement, broadening the alliance by forging new links to progressive sectors, and starting negotiations. Mass mobilization—either strike action or widespread popular insurrection—is seen as the key to victory.

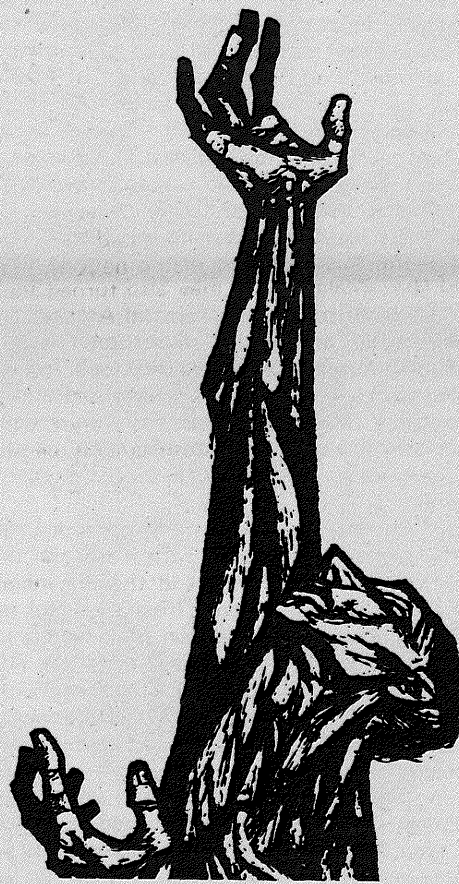
This is the threat which state terrorism and the death squads have set out to suppress, and their effectiveness has been undeniable. The partial rekindling of labor-union activity in the spring of 1984—both revolutionary and reformist—brought about a parallel resurgence of the death squads.

The Labor Movement

By late 1981 the situation of the working class was desperate. With the peasantry, they were the worst hit by the repression, the economic slump, and the state of emergency, and the most seriously demobilized by official propaganda. The labor movement wasn't dead, but its impact was restricted to levels which the regime could handle.

The gross domestic product fell almost 6% in 1982, and another 8% in 1983. Agricultural production, especially vital to the Salvadoran economy, declined by 7.4% in 1982 and 8.7% in 1983.

As the economy contracts, the poor feel it worst. But since 1982, even the middle class has been hurting. Consumption levels fell 27% between 1979 and 1981, and a further 20% by the spring of 1984. Overall prices have risen by 97.7% in the last four years, though the cost of



clothing has risen 153% and the cost of foodstuffs 122%. (Two thirds of all Salvadoran families spend 62% to 65% of their income on those items.)

As a result of Decree 544, outlawing all labor-union activity, real minimum wages in both the public and private sectors declined by 65% between 1979 and early 1983. Official figures show 38% without jobs in early 1983, while today unemployment and under-employment together afflict almost 80% of the population.

The explosive political consequences of increasing impoverishment have been held in check for a long time by the lack of organized channels for dissent and the suffocating weight of the repression. But despite the violence that has greeted economic demands and protests, there have been renewed stirrings of discontent since mid-1982. Some unions have tried to revive traditional labor-union activity; others have attempted to evolve strategies independent of the Government-right and the FMLN-FDR; none has yet succeeded in making its influence strongly felt.

The case of the Popular Democratic Union (UPD)—a labor organization formed at the beginning of 1980 by a core of peasant groups (USC and ACOPA) and two urban labor federations—is a good illustration. Some of its members—notably the Salvadoran Communal Union (USC)—had been connected to the AFL-CIO and supported by money from the US Agency for International Development (AID). The USC's political posture and its ties to the US led to its being shunned by the more left-wing unions and the popular organizations.

When the agrarian-reform program was launched in March 1980, USC was the principal—almost the sole—beneficiary, forming the nucleus of peasant support for

the ruling Christian Democratic Party. Nevertheless, following the March 1982 elections, the UPD understood the imminent threat of the reforms' being overturned. Its vigorous mobilization in support of them not only placed the UPD in outright opposition to the bloc of rightist parties headed by ARENA (the political voice of the oligarchy and the death squads), but also brought it momentarily into line with the demands of other—more militant—labor unions.

Help from the Christian Democrats and the US Embassy permitted the UPD to register protests—and even mount street demonstrations—that no other group could dare attempt. But even so, a number of UPD members, mainly members of peasant co-operatives, have been kidnapped and killed by right-wing death squads. In practice, however, the UPD has been co-opted by the US in its efforts to restore Christian Democrat Duarte ("our kind of guy") to the Presidency.

If the UPD is a pro-Government union, the Unitarian Movement of Labor and Trade Unions (MUSYGES) is pro-insurgent. MUSYGES arose toward the end of 1982 as an expression of popular discontent that occasionally proves stronger than fear of state terrorist reprisals. MUSYGES brought together the remnants of El Salvador's most important union federations—previously affiliated with the FDR but decimated by the repression. MUSYGES is critical of the Government, with its violations of human rights and its increasing dependence on Washington, but backs an expanded version of the current reforms; it also supports unconditional dialogue with the guerrillas and demands a Government with full working-class participation. Its proposals are very close to those of the FMLN-FDR.

Although both the UPD and MUSYGES claim more than 30,000 members on paper, their power to mobilize people seems limited for the moment. In March 1984, the leaders of the United Trade Union Movement, representing workers from five labor-union federations, called for a boycott of the elections, noting that "the elections are not the solution to national problems and much less to the internal conflict which the country has been experiencing over the last four years".

Throughout March, some 14,000 public-service workers struck for 20% higher wages. These workers were from the Salvadoran Social Security Institute, the Institute for the Regulation of Supplies, and the National Waterworks Institute, as well as two private enterprises—the Sarti foundries and the Central American Textiles Mill. Government troops occupied the Mill throughout the strike, perhaps to keep workers from occupying it. On March 6th, some 30,000 workers from 20 private firms showed their support for the strikers with a two-hour work stoppage, despite the Secret Anti-Communist Army's announcement that it would shoot union leaders if they continued to press wage demands.

When Duarte declared himself El Salvador's President after the second round of elections, reformist trade unions linked with the Christian Democrats, like the UPD, swiftly put their wage demands on the back burner.

So the deadlock in El Salvador continues, aggravated by the crisis racking all of Central America. US intervention has prevented the FMLN from taking power. But despite the roughly \$200 million in US military aid and \$650 million in economic aid from 1981 to 1983 (and millions more since then), the FMLN appears to be a stronger military and political force now than it was four years ago. Also, despite the huge US political and economic investment in its success, the agrarian reform program has gone backward, with the oligarchy emerging stronger than before.

The goals of the far right may not have been fully realized either, but their terrorist methods have been allowed every latitude. To escalate that terror further would not only worsen El Salvador's standing as an international pariah, but also imperil continued US Congressional approval of future US economic and military aid. Yet since the US has chosen the Salvadoran armed forces as its main ally, and the military defeat of the FMLN as its main goal, it apparently accepts that too much pressure to clean up rightist terror would imperil the war against the left, just as purging the armed forces of figures tied to the death squads would unravel the Army.

Even before the inconclusive talks between representatives of the FMLN-FDR and Duarte in La Palma in October, the US was hedging its bets by shipping some 20 Huey combat helicopters to El Salvador. Many fear that the helicopters will be used to implement a counter-insurgency strategy of carrying the war to the rebels and their civilian bases of support in the northern and eastern provinces. Unarmed civilians living in rebel-held areas who refuse to move to Government refugee camps would be subject to direct attack. But even without the helicopters, the Salvadoran army has demonstrated its ability to massacre civilians.

Meanwhile, the National University campus has reopened, after four years of occupation by the National Guard. The return of the campus to civilian control, coinciding with a resurgence of union activity, means a resurgence of political activity which could be a crucial factor in the outcome of the war between the Government and the left. Certainly the reopening of the University—whose Law School auditorium was the site of the founding of the FDR in April 1980—will pose a dilemma for Duarte, who has won the support of the US Congress with his "moderate" rhetoric. As the campus returns to life, student organizations re-surface, and the political ferment resumes, how long will he be able to keep his promise to respect the school's autonomy?

Peasant War in Guatemala

Since 1954, when CIA-sponsored anti-communist fanatics overthrew a government threatening to expropriate idle United Fruit Company lands, Guatemala has been ruled by governments which must murder large numbers of Guatemalans simply to survive. The Guatemalan economy grew over the '60s and '70s. A population of 7.3 million, of whom three in five lived in rural areas, enjoyed a per-capita income of \$1,020 in 1979, a little higher than the inhabitants of El Salvador, Honduras, and Nicaragua. But the average figure is a poor guide to the reality: The wealthiest 5% of the population received a full 60% of the national income, leaving the remainder with an average of \$408 per year. By the time the calculation reaches the landless Indian peasant, the average yearly income is well under \$100.

Access to land is of course the key. Equality of land tenure is measured by the "Gini Index", which compares farm size to amount of land. In a perfectly-equal distribution of land the Gini Index would equal 0. The higher the Index (100 is the theoretical maximum), the greater the concentration of land in larger farms. In 1979 Guatemala scored 85 on the Gini Index, the highest figure of any Central American country. Fifteen years earlier, its score had been 82. In the torrid coastal flatlands, where cotton and sugar cane form the basis of Guatemala's export-oriented economy, the Gini Index is over 90. Overall, 482 farms occupy 21.6% of the country's farmland, while seven out of eight Guatemalan farms are too small to support a family of five. To survive, highland



peasants work their tiny plots nine months of the year, then descend to pick export crops for a miserable wage.

After the fall of the Arbenz government, repeated counterinsurgency campaigns crushed all rural protest. Foreign capital flowed into Guatemala, most going into oil and nickel extraction and new forms of agribusiness export. Economic boom years brought double-digit inflation, but also swelled the ranks of a new urban working class. In 1973 schoolteachers struck for a 50% wage hike. The teachers' strike quickly grew to include other public employees, parents, and students. Unemployed slum-dwellers and factory workers defied the threat of death squads and marched in support of the teachers. The Government, surprised by any show of militancy, conceded their demand. The teachers' success touched off a wave of strikes and union organizing.

The flashpoint came on March 24th, 1976, when 152 workers were laid off by the Embotelladora Guatemalteca SA, the local Coca-Cola franchise, owned and managed by John Trotter, a fiercely right-wing Texan. For six months workers had been trying to form a legal union in this plant, where wages and conditions were inferior to those at the non-unionized Pepsi-Cola franchise. Shop-floor wit had it that at prevailing wages a bottle of Coke was an affordable luxury. Enraged by the layoffs, the workers took over the factory. The police responded by storming the building and ejecting the workers by force.

On March 31st, delegates from 65 unions formed the Comité Nacional de Unidad Sindical (National Committee of Trade Union Unity) to confront the repression and defend labor rights. The formation of CNUS made it possible for the first time for workers in different factories and even in different industrial sectors to link up in joint action. From 1976 to 1978, each strike set off solidarity actions in other plants.

In November 1977, Minas de Guatemala closed its tungsten mine in San Ildefonso Ixtahuacan in the remote northwest, laying off 300 workers and stepping up intimidation of their union. Isolated in the mountains, the Mam Indian miners decided to march to Guatemala City to publicize their demands for reinstatement. CNUS unionists in other mines and crews on nearby hydroelectric plants downed tools in sympathy. As the workers and their families made the long trek down the Pan American Highway, Indians and Latinos joined them. By the time they reached the capital 100,000 people had come out in their support, and the mine owners had conceded.

For the generals, the miners' march was proof that things had gotten out of hand. On June 21st, 1980, 27 union leaders met at the headquarters of the Confedera-

ción Nacional del Trabajo (National Confederation of Labor: CNT), largest of the CNUS unions. Plainclothes gunmen broke in and dragged away all 27 while police sealed off the area, and the 27 were never seen again. A little over two months later 17 union leaders were kidnapped from a meeting south of Guatemala City, and they too vanished without a trace. The mutilated bodies of other unionists began turning up along the public roads. Secret factory "nuclei" and workers' commissions came to replace open assemblies, and union activities became clandestine.

In the countryside, grass-roots organizations, many of them church-sponsored, increasingly clashed with the Army. On May 29th, 1978 a crowd of Kekchi Indians marched to the town of Panzos to meet with the Mayor about land tenure and to demand an explanation of the disappearance of three peasant leaders kidnapped earlier. At Panzos troops and right-wing vigilantes fired on the demonstration, killing over a hundred and piling the bodies into pre-dug graves.

In response, Indian peasants flooded into the Comité de Unidad Campesina (Peasant Unity Committee). The CUC emerged as a fusion of rural co-operatives, peasant leagues, and Christian-based groups, joining the CNUS. It organized nationwide and brought together not only Indians and Latinos, but also Indian groups hitherto isolated from one another. Plantation workers, faced with a lack of billboards and walls, painted "Viva CUC!" on cattle and dogs.

On January 31st, 1980 a group of people—primarily Indian peasants from El Quiché—peacefully occupied the Spanish Embassy in Guatemala City and requested the Spanish Ambassador to intercede with the Guatemalan Government to force an enquiry into Army atrocities in the highlands. The Ambassador was sympathetic, but hundreds of police massed outside the Embassy. They set fire to it, and 39 people were burned alive. The one

peasant occupier who survived was dragged from his hospital bed by the customary "unknown assailants", and his mutilated corpse was found shortly afterward.

If Panzos had been a turning point for the Indians, the Spanish Embassy massacre killed off any hope of peaceful change. The urban workers' unions had been severely mauled by the repression, but CUC workers merged into a guerrilla organization. In the year following the Embassy massacre local union work became all but extinct, and the few strikes that did take place were quite different in character from the earlier ones. In August 1980, Atlantic Coast banana-plantation workers struck for higher wages, but central to their tactics—as in other union actions of this period—was the concept of "armed self-defense". Guatemala was quiet for much of 1980, as guerrilla organizations organized themselves in the highlands. But the collapse of the export-oriented economy as the worldwide recession lowered demand for agricultural products and raised import costs—above all for petroleum—triggered open war. In the highlands, the Army could no longer see a distinction between the *guerrilleros* and their peasant supporters, and entire Indian villages were wiped out.

In the cities the doors of major union locals are closed, with their activists dead, "disappeared", kidnapped, exiled, or in hiding. The CNUS operates under cover, but has been unable to prevent attempts by company unions, financed by the Government and backed by the American Institute for the Development of Free Labor, to organize. In January of this year, the Bank Workers Trade Union Federation, associated with the independent union movement, reiterated its call for the formation of a national front against inflation and repression. Against a wave of popular agitation, workers and doctors of the Social Security Institute formed a front to oppose the transfer of social security to the private sector. These are the first stirrings after four years of labor silence.

Hamburger Side Costs

Starting in the late 1950s, the US demand for cheap lean beef soared as the fast-food industry fostered a taste for hamburgers, hot dogs, and other convenience foods. In response, US meat suppliers increased their beef imports from the traditional exporting nations, like Australia and New Zealand. But they also turned their eyes southward toward Mexico and Central America.

Urged on by the enlarged US market for imported beef, the Central American Governments began to provide cattle raisers with economic incentives such as low-interest loans, new roads, and new meat-packing plants. The export of deboned frozen beef quickly became the most dynamic sector in Central American trade, with a 400% increase between 1961 and 1974 alone.

During the early years of the export-beef industry, Central America's cattle were raised along the region's Pacific coast. Most of the forests there had been cleared during previous decades to make room for food crops and export crops such as cotton and coffee. But the burgeoning market for beef cattle prompted cattle raisers to filter into the sparsely-inhabited Caribbean side of Central America, where a longer rainy season allows year-round growth of pasture grasses. In this densely-forested region, ranchers quickly set about transforming jungle and rain forest into grassland.

From 1960 to 1980, US imports of Central American beef increased in tandem with rain-forest destruction. During these two decades, American companies bought an average of 127 million pounds of beef a year from the region. At the same time, Central American pastureland increased by 16,000 square miles—an area the size of Massachusetts and New Jersey combined—and the rain forests continued to fall at the rate of 1600 square miles a year.

The ranchers do not carry out the actual process of clearing and burning the jungle for cattle raising. That role goes to the thousands of pioneer farm families who colonize Central America's tropical lowlands. Fleeing poverty and landlessness in their original homelands, they flow into the forest on new roads bulldozed by logging companies or oil-exploration teams. Families settle in small communities and begin clearing the rain forest to plant corn, rice, and manioc and cash crops like coffee, peppers, and cacao.

After a few years of harvests, though, rapidly-declining soil fertility and invasions of weeds and insects present the families with a dilemma. Lacking the technical and financial support they need to cultivate their land continuously, they must either abandon their agricultural plots to jungle regrowth or convert the land to a different use. So many families simply sell their clearings as "improved land" to cattle ranchers, who follow in the wake of the pioneer farmers, combining small farm plots into large ranches to raise beef cattle. The farm families then move farther into the rain forests to begin the cycle anew.

Overgrazed and exposed to the torrential rains of the tropics, pastures cleared from rain forests soon erode into infertile wastelands. Even at peak production during the first few years after clearing, ranchers must allocate 2½ acres of cleared land for each head of cattle. Five or six years after the initial forest clearing, the combined factors of soil erosion, invading weeds, and insects cause

grass and beef yields to plummet. When this happens, the ranchers must dedicate 12 to 17 acres of land for each head of beef cattle. Within a decade, they must move on to new pastures or abandon their hopes of profit.

Since the beef-export industry began in the late '50s, Central America's population has almost doubled. It will double again by the end of the century. Meanwhile, the local market for beef also grows. Between 1960 and 1984, the region's yearly per-capita consumption of beef rose from 23 pounds a year to more than 30 (as opposed to the US average of 105 pounds of beef per person a year). Eating beef is a mark of prestige in Central America as it is elsewhere, and most Central Americans aspire to this improvement, even though it may come at the expense of tropical forests.

Without trees and their root systems, however, heavy rains erode the land and cause devastating floods and landslides. Droughts become more severe as destruction of forested watersheds causes rivers to dry up. Deforestation deprives the poor of their traditional sources of fuel for cooking and timber for building, and they are the least able to afford imported substitutes. According to a report on the Third World by the Swedish Red Cross, environmental stresses such as deforestation and soil erosion contributed to a five-fold increase in deaths from natural disasters in the 1960s and 1970s, leading to flash floods in rainy seasons and famine in dry seasons. At the same time, poverty and the population explosion in much of the Third World is forcing more and more people to live on flood plains, on steep hillsides, along earthquake faults, and in other disaster-prone areas.

adapted from *International Wildlife*
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GREEN PARTY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

Greetings to the IWW, pioneers of the labor movement, on the 80th anniversary of its founding.

Principles we Greens admire and share with Wobs include human rights, decentralization, and workplace democracy.

May the history of your next 80 years be yet another example to working people throughout the world.

Green Party of British Columbia
Number 214, 1956 West Broadway
Vancouver V6J 1Z2, phone 733-9009

GREETINGS

from the NY branch of the



ONE OF THE THINGS THAT MAKE THE IWW UNIQUE IS ITS COMMITMENT TO THE SOLIDARITY OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING CLASS. TO SHOW THIS, I HAVE USED MALE AND FEMALE FIGURES, ONE BLACK AND ONE WHITE, WITH ARMS CLASPED ABOVE THE EARTH. THE SYMBOLS OF THE HOE AND WRENCH ARE USED TO SHOW THE TWO MAIN FORMS OF WORK: INDUSTRIAL AND AGRICULTURAL. ANOTHER ASPECT OF THE UNIQUENESS OF THE IWW IS ITS COMMITMENT TO THE TRADITIONS OF THE PAST AND ITS DEDICATION TO MAKING THE FUTURE A BETTER PLACE TO LIVE AND WORK. I HAVE USED THE FOREST AND THE SEA, AS THESE WERE TWO OF THE MAJOR AREAS WHERE THE IWW WAS STRONGEST: THE SHIPPING AND LUMBER INDUSTRIES. I FEEL ANY IMAGE USED TO REPRESENT THE UNION SHOULD INCORPORATE PEOPLE, AS THE STRENGTH OF THE IWW LIES WITH WORKING-CLASS MEN AND WOMEN.

JOHN JERARD

MAKE IT DIFFERENT

THE FAMINE PROCESS

Moussa and Youssef are African peasants who grow millet, sorghum, and corn. They feed their family and sell the remainder of the produce. One day they find the market flooded with sacks of food-aid wheat that their government is selling at low prices, rendering the local millet and sorghum worthless. Undaunted, Moussa and Youssef reduce their food crops to just enough for the family, and plant the rest of their field with cotton and peanuts—profitable export crops.

The next year a drought causes their millet and sorghum crops to wither. They sell their cotton and peanut harvest to buy food, but world prices have changed and cotton and peanuts are worth little. Food has become much more expensive because of the shift to export crops, misuse of aid, speculation, and corruption. Fortunately they live near a road, their government is not trying to starve insurgents in the neighborhood, and a UN food-aid truck comes by.

The Sahel region of Northern Africa is an exemplary disaster area, but what is happening there is happening in Mexico, the Caribbean, Brazil, Bangladesh, the Philippines, and India. Agronomists say the Sahel region could feed itself despite its soaring population and recurrent droughts. "Some communities have sustained chronic food shortages for five or six years without famine setting in," notes a spokesperson for the London-based International Disaster Institute. "Famine is... a social collapse rather than a strictly nutritional event." But policies set by Third World governments—or imposed on them by stronger governments and multinational corporations—prevent the peasants from achieving agricultural self-sufficiency.

Since the great drought of 1973, food aid has become a permanent factor in the developing world, serving primarily as an outlet for European and American farm surpluses. In the long term its effects are more negative than positive. It fosters changes in eating habits, one of the main causes of Africa's growing dependence on imports.

The Sahel countries would have the resources to build their own food industry if so much of the foreign aid given them by international agencies was not earmarked almost exclusively to buy food and agro-industrial prod-

ucts from the North, which becomes "free sample" advertising. The traditional North African breakfast of couscous (cooked wheat) and vegetables has given way widely to a European meal of instant coffee, condensed or powdered milk, and bread. These products are imported at great expense.

This pattern is seen world-wide. It is not by chance that hungry people in Kenya spend their meager income on corn flakes, to which they have become accustomed due to American aid. In Mexico, Coca-Cola and potato chips are crowding out traditional, locally-produced foods. In Central America, where up to 70% of the population suffers from malnutrition, the fields are being used to produce beef for the hamburgers sold by US fast-food chains.

This worldwide expansion of the Northern dietary model is accompanied by an alarming rise in malnutrition. When food production and distribution are left solely to market forces, food becomes affordable mainly by employed city dwellers. The takeover of much of a country's best agricultural land by export-oriented agribusinesses on one hand, and the eagerness of Northern grain and dairy farmers to export their surpluses on the other, leaves the farmers who still constitute a majority of the Third World populations without land or markets.

It is no accident that in a time of famine one of the few international organizations promoting agricultural

self-sufficiency in the developing countries, the International Fund for Agricultural Development, has been strangled financially by a coalition of interests led by petroleum-producing countries and the US Government. The US representative in the UN has proclaimed that the only response to famine is to respect the laws of the market—the exact response of the British in the last century to the potato blight in Ireland.

Today's developing countries are recapitulating something of the Irish experience, with the burden of foreign debt thrown in. The debt the Northern countries claim the Third World owes them aggravates the ravages of famine. The policy imposed on developing countries by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) on behalf of European and US governments and banks will, over the next 20 years, swell the flow of capital from the poor countries to the rich. And, in large measure, it is the millions of peasants and shantytown dwellers of the South who will pay the price, unless they can force a change. The labor movements in several Latin American countries have demanded that the measures "their" governments take to pay the blood-sucking claims of IMF and US bankers not come totally at workers' expense. Better that they should press for the repudiation of the debt altogether.

(adapted from *Le Nouvel Observateur* of Paris)

In Memoriam

NELS KANERVA ED SPIRA

San Francisco Bay Area General Membership Branch

MARION LOCKDOWN CONTINUES

For the 350 prisoners in the US penitentiary at Marion, Illinois, nothing has changed since the prison went on permanent lockdown October 27th, 1983. For an average of nearly 23 hours a day, most prisoners sit in their six-by-nine-foot cells. The prison administration's policy of control through force, isolation, and degradation continues, but with beatings now confined mostly to the "segregation", "control", and "reception" units. Prisoners who are too loud are still chained down—some for more than 30 hours.

Plaintiffs in the prisoners' lawsuit, *Bruscino Versus Carlson*, managed to gain admittance to the prison for three experts who were unanimous in their conclusions after touring the prison and talking to inmates. Joseph Cannon, ex-warden of Stateville Prison in Illinois and a former Director of Corrections in Maryland and Kentucky, said in his affidavit: "I have never seen procedures so extreme and so seemingly designed to degrade and aggravate the prisoners.... I feel obligated to state that if the present procedures at this prison are permitted to continue, violence will be the consequence. This potential for violence is being generated hourly by the administrative policies and managerial procedures at this institution."

The prison administration's response to criticism has been to assert that Marion prisoners are all crazed, violent predators who have to be treated this way. According to a speech by the Marion warden to a local Chamber of Commerce, a plain little old mass murderer doesn't necessarily qualify for placement at Marion. It takes an

aggressive, disruptive, and violent agitator to make it there. It is the end of the road for such people, and there isn't any other penal institution in the system that can handle them.

But a little examination reveals that Marion's primary purpose is not to contain violent prisoners, but to break prisoners viewed as "management problems", such as leaders and litigators.

"[This prisoner] continues to be a management problem," says a staff report on one prisoner's "adjustment" at Marion. "He is very demanding and arrogant in his dealings with staff. He is viewed as an instigator and litigator."

A Native American rights activist like Standing Deer might well be considered disruptive by Marion staff, although he is 63 years old and has an arthritic back that has confined him to a wheelchair on eight separate occasions since 1977. On January 12th, 1985 he became completely non-ambulatory and was removed from the control unit to a cell in the Medical Center for Federal Prisoners in Springfield, Missouri. No religious services of any type are allowed at Marion, and on February 5th Standing Deer added his name to a religious-freedom lawsuit. On February 18th Medical Center personnel began putting his food trays in the door slot (where he was unable to reach them) instead of continuing to bring them to his bed, apparently in retaliation for the lawsuit. At last report he had remained without food since that date.

SOLIDARNOSC ACTIVISTS INDICTED

Three Solidarnosc activists have been indicted on the charge of urging public unrest for their parts in organizing an aborted strike to protest price increases. Wladyslaw Frasyuniuk, Bogdan Lis, and Adam Michnik have been held incommunicado since February 13th, but were not indicted till mid-March. Reportedly, the authorities are pushing for a speedy one-day trial just before Easter, and prison sentences of two to three years.

Some 105 Solidarnosc activists are currently imprisoned for political offenses, many of whom were released in previous amnesties but re-arrested when they resumed their union activity. The Government has been stepping up arrests in recent weeks, apparently in hopes of suppressing opposition to the scheduled price hikes.

IRISH WORKERS SIT IN

Atari Computers shut down some of its California plants, seeking a more docile—and cheaper—workforce abroad, but they didn't find it in Ireland. When Atari gave the workers in its Limerick, Ireland video-games factory 15 minutes notice on December 22nd that it was shutting down, 12 of them promptly occupied it. As of mid-February the sit-in was still in effect, backed by the Limerick Trades Council, with the workers refusing to allow removal of five million pounds' worth of goods still in the factory till they were given better severance pay. Workers on the Shannon and Dublin docks refused to handle Atari products in solidarity with the sit-in.

Throughout January and February the F.H. Thompson Bakery in Cork was occupied by 100 workers. The Bakery went into liquidation at the end of December, and the workers wanted payment of back wages and holiday pay from the old owners, along with assurances that non-union labor will not be hired by the new.

In mid-January, 33 members of the Irish Transport and General Workers Union began an occupation of the Telephone Cables premises in Ballybough, Dublin, in protest of the company's refusal to negotiate a realistic settlement on severance pay. The workers (most of whom had worked for the company 20 to 30 years) were offered only the statutory redundancy pay.

And as of mid-February, the occupation of the Wexford branch of Dunnes Stores, begun in October 1984 by 50 workers seeking payment of their Christmas 1983 bonus, was still in effect.

Given the Irish climate, sit-ins make more sense than picketing. But even sit-ins bring workers only limited leverage when an employer is going out of business. Irish workers (and indeed workers everywhere) might do well to consider the example of the French Lip Watch workers. Faced with the closing of the plant, they arranged for the sale of the watches still on the premises through the French labor federations, smuggled the watchmaking equipment out of the factory and into the basements and barns of their supporters, and launched their own watchmaking operation.

MAY DAY GREETINGS

From the Houston IWW Group

A New Look at Haymarket

The Haymarket Tragedy, by Paul Avrich, Princeton University Press, 550 pages, illustrated, cloth only, \$29.50

The most world-reverberating event in US labor history has inevitably provoked a voluminous literature. What happened at Chicago's Haymarket Square in May 1886 has been summarized scores of times in autobiographies and biographies of many of the figures involved, as well as in general histories of radicalism and labor; it has also provided the theme of numerous novels, poems, and plays. Curiously, however, notwithstanding the passage of 99 years, this splendid new book by Paul Avrich is only the second full-length scholarly study devoted to the subject.

Henry David's readable *History of the Haymarket Affair* (1936) focused above all on the notorious trial. Avrich has drawn his work on a larger canvas, and with a profusion of fascinating detail that deepens our understanding of all the issues involved. Most importantly, he deepens our knowledge and appreciation of Albert Parsons and his comrades, insightfully examining their ideas, their activity, and the cause of working-class self-emanicipation to which they gave their very lives.

Avrich offers a wealth of background relating the Haymarket martyrs to the sprawling and energetic labor movement of the time, and traces the radicals' advance from electoral socialism to the union-based working-class anarchism that foreshadowed the IWW and European anarchosyndicalism. No other book conveys so well the unique "flavor" of the Chicago labor movement of the 1880s, with its extraordinary counterculture—its vast picnics, dances, and parades, exuding the wildly optimistic expectations of so many working men and women that the "good time coming" was just around the corner.

In his masterful reconstruction of the actual Haymarket gathering, Avrich notes that the meeting was pronounced a peaceful one by none other than the Mayor, who had stopped by to hear what the anarchists had to say. But the arrival of a squad of cops, under that sinister sadist Inspector Bonfield, spelled trouble. As the meeting was breaking up (it looked like rain, and few remained in the audience), one of Bonfield's men bizarrely ordered the small crowd to disperse. Then someone—no one yet knows who, though Avrich explores this problem more thoroughly than anyone else has—threw a bomb, and chaos ensued in the darkness. Avrich points out that all the cops killed or injured on that occasion, with one exception, were killed or injured by other cops—for all the injuries were bullet wounds, and there is no evidence that any of the anarchists or their listeners fired a gun.

Since the cops didn't have the faintest notion of who threw the bomb, they arrested leading figures in the rad-

ical labor movement and charged them with the crime, despite the fact that most of them weren't even present at the meeting. Cries of "Get Albert Parsons!" and "Get August Spies!" had often been raised in the bosses' press, for these men and their friends were gifted labor organizers, popular public speakers, and dedicated revolutionists—real thorns in the side of the exploiting class. There followed a "trial" which was soon recognized as a travesty of justice even by devout believers in bourgeois jurisprudence.

And so, convicted of a crime even the prosecuting attorney admitted they hadn't committed, two printers, a toyseller, and an upholsterer went to the gallows; a young organizer for the Carpenters' Union committed suicide (some say he was murdered) in his cell; a bookbinder, a stonehauer, and a yeastmaker were thrown into prison. It was an early example of what would eventually become a time-honored American tradition in labor cases: police frame-up and judicial murder.

Avrich gives a vivid account of the international defense campaign, which involved such varied individuals as Oscar Wilde, William Morris, Clarence Darrow, Karl Marx's daughter Eleanor, novelist William Dean Howells, pioneer muckraker Henry Demarest Lloyd, spiritualist Cora Richmond, free thinker Robert Ingersoll, revolutionary eccentric George Francis Train, and John Brown Junior, son of the great abolitionist. The "Chicago Eight" were the first martyrs of anarchism as well as the first widely-acclaimed martyrs of the American labor movement; the effort to set them free was the first of the great Labor defense campaigns.

Briefly recounted is the strange tale of Governor Altgeld's pardon of the three surviving Haymarket prisoners in 1893. Altgeld was that almost-unheard-of rarity—a politician with some principles. Convinced that the trial had been a malevolent farce, that there was simply no evidence to convict any of the anarchists of any crime, that the jury was bought-and-paid-for and the judge hideously prejudiced, Altgeld at long last issued his pardon and thereby unleashed the wrath of capitalists and their lapdog editors everywhere. Indeed, it is widely believed that the pardon cost him his political career. "Not since Lincoln," Avrich notes, "had so much concentrated hate been focused on a political figure"—all for letting three innocent men out of jail! His was the fate of the politician who tries to act like a decent human being; it is hardly surprising that subsequent office-holders have not taken Altgeld for a model.

Conservative labor officials of the time liked to pretend that Haymarket was a major setback for Labor as a whole, from which it took many long years to recover—and of course that the anarchists were to blame! Not



L. FISH

a few historians have supported this odd view—which, however, is not supported by the facts. It is true that the police and the press, especially in Chicago, did their best to whip up a reign of terror against the working population. But as has so often happened in such situations, the movement grew—and grew phenomenally—in spite of the persecution. Ten years after Haymarket, organized labor in the US was ten times stronger.

Indeed, the Haymarket events illuminated the reality of class struggle with a dazzling brightness that has not dimmed over the years. Voltairine de Cleyre, Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman, and Kate Austin are only a few of those whose "political awakening" dates from Haymarket. Among the "seasoned old unionists" who organized the IWW in Chicago in 1905 were many who traced the origins of their radicalism back to 1886-87. "Big Bill" Haywood acknowledged that Haymarket was a "turning point" for him. Gene Debs eulogized the Chicago martyrs in an early essay. Daniel DeLeon had been active in the defense campaign. It is no accident that Lucy Parsons, widow of Albert and herself a tireless agitator, was one of the IWW's founding delegates; more than once she wrote on Haymarket for the IWW press. The well-remembered Wobbly organizer Arthur Boose affirmed that it was Lucy who first turned his thoughts toward social revolution. As a living link to the Chicago movement of the 1880s, Lucy Parsons inspired three generations of unionists and radicals.

There is something profoundly moving in the Haymarket martyrs' unflagging devotion to the Cause, their courage in courtroom and jail, their overall *exemplary* character. In contrast, the representatives of Law 'n' Order arrayed against them appear as some of history's slimiest and most vicious jerks, whose later disgrace testifies eloquently to their real character: Both Bonfield and Captain Schaack, who "investigated" the "conspiracy", were booted off the police force in 1889 for accepting payoffs from thieves, trafficking in stolen goods, and involvement with crooked saloonkeepers and prostitutes. Schaack later confessed that at least a third of his ridiculous book on the Haymarket case, *Anarchy and Anarchists*, consisted of outright lies.

Avrich's book will doubtless remain the standard account of Haymarket for decades to come. It is the result of many years of serious, painstaking research, and contains much material not available elsewhere. It is also an important contribution to the cause of working-class emancipation here and now. For in our own time, when what passes for a labor movement in the US is more than ever afflicted with compromise, short-sightedness, cowardice, and every sort of degradation, there is much we can learn, and need to learn, from the story of the Chicago anarchists of a century ago. *The Haymarket Tragedy* is aimed not at antiquarians and nostalgics, but at a rising generation who are already asking and will continue asking: What was Haymarket? What happened there, and why? Could anything like that happen today?

This book is essential reading for all who are still in the fight for a free society.

Franklin Rosemont

COVINGTON HALL

In the Spring 1985 issue of the British labor-history journal *History Workshop* is an article on Covington Hall by David Roediger of Northwestern. Hall edited the IWW paper *The Lumberjack* in Louisiana before the First World War. As an organizer for the Non-Partisan League, he tried to establish collective bargaining with IWW Agricultural Workers. He taught journalism and other subjects at labor schools, Commonwealth College in Arkansas, and the Work People's College in Duluth. He wrote much verse, of which probably the best liked was "Us, the Hoboes and Dreamers".

LITERATURE!

Practical and Informational:

() Organizing Manual	.75
() Collective Bargaining Manual	2.00
() Labor Law for the Rank and Filer*	2.50
() Inflation: Cause and Cure	.25
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() Workers' Guide to Direct Action	.35
() The General Strike (by Ralph Chaplin)	.75
() Unions and Racism	1.00
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() IWW Preamble and Constitution	1.00
() Metal Workers' Guide to Health and Safety	.50
() A Quiz on You and the Arms Race	.10
(10 copies .75; 100 copies 3.00, 2.50 per additional 100)	

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* These items are offered for sale as a convenience to the readers of the IW. They are not official IWW literature, and the union takes no position on their content. The IWW does not engage in direct or indirect alliances with political or anti-political groups or sects. Quantity discounts are available on only some of the above titles.

DISCONTINUED:

"Haymarket Revisited", by William Adelman, has been discontinued from the IWW Literature List because of serious errors of fact and historical misrepresentations recently brought to our attention. We will continue to distribute Adelman's "Touring Pullman", available from the IWW for \$2.

Posters:

() Joe Hill	5.00
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LITERATURE DISCOUNT POLICY

Bulk orders of five or more of any item on the IWW Literature List, unless otherwise indicated, may be ordered at a 40% discount if orders are prepaid. We offer a 30% discount on similar orders which we must invoice. Postage will be added to all orders that are not prepaid. Please allow three weeks for delivery. (ND) indicates that no discount is available.

AVAILABLE FROM LOCAL IWW GROUPS:

A Workers' Guide to Direct Action: 50¢. New York IWW, PO Box 183, New York 10028.

Fellow Union Member: 10¢ each; bundles of 5 to 15, 5¢; 16 to 500, 3¢; over 500, 2¢. Tacoma/Olympia IWW, 2115 South Sheridan, Tacoma, Washington 98405.

Introduction to the IWW: 10¢ each; bulk rate 40% discount, paid in advance. San Francisco IWW, PO Box 40485, San Francisco, California 94140.

Solidarity Bulletin (monthly publication): \$10 a year. Vancouver IWW, PO Box 34334, Station D, Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada V6J 4P3.

IWW baseball caps (one size fits all): \$4 each, add \$1 each for shipping. University Cellar IU 660 Job Branch (checks to IWW), 341 East Liberty, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48107.

Please send all orders (unless otherwise designated) to: IWW, 3435 North Sheffield, Suite 202, Chicago, Illinois 60657 (USA).

AN APPEAL FROM ZENTAI OMORI,
A BRANCH OF THE JAPANESE POSTAL
WORKERS UNION, FOR AN INTERNATIONAL
SOLIDARITY OF ALL RANK-AND-FILE WORKERS

On January 22nd Peter Rachleff, a labor scholar from the US, visited our workplace to attend a joint union meeting. We have learned much from him about the situation faced by organized labor in America, and how militant workers are fighting back. We were surprised to learn how similar our problems are: For example, the current eagerness of corporations to bust militant unions; the introduction of new technologies to displace workers, "de-skill" jobs, and increase management's control over work processes and workplaces; and the expansion of part-time, low-wage, and service sectors of the economy are our problems too.

There is also another important similarity between us. We, rank-and-file workers, fight against those abuses in various ways; but until now, regrettably, we have had no opportunity to hear your voice directly. We now learn that you have waged strikes to force management to create full-time jobs; that you have set up strike-support committees over the barriers of companies and unions; and that you have made efforts to protect workers' right to a job and to cut out overtime so that more laid-off workers would be called back. We learn that "An Injury to One Is an Injury to All" is your main slogan. We are very touched. This has been our first chance to hear your voice directly.

As we all know, there is an expression "international labor movement". Here in Japan, for the rank-and-file worker, this means the sightseeing trips of union bosses who visit your country to go to Disneyland rather than to learn of your experiences, and give us one-sided information about your movement to justify their opportunistic attitude. For example, they say that "Nobody in the US uses the term class struggle. Union leaders who insist on direct action are far behind the common sense of the international labor movement." Thus, many of us have thought that American unionists are conservative or that they seem to accept everything. Even the system of dividing workers into small groups to control them more rigorously, which you label the "Japanese management plan", is known as the "American labor control system" over here. Terms like "international labor movement" or "common interests of international labor" misled us very much.

Do you know that Shioji, the strong advocate of the "international labor movement" here and president of the Nissan Union, set up a company union in Mexico solely to prevent workers there from forming a militant union and to assure the company's profit? Do you know that union representatives from your country are systematically "brainwashed" by lecturers from labor institutions, geisha girls at luxurious parties, and conservative

readers' soap box

MY OPINION ON ARTHUR SCARGILL

What he should have done as a strike leader was call for the four-hour day, not oppose the closing of the mines. This would have meant shorter hours for all miners without loss of pay. But Mr. Scargill did not have that courage. His mind was on the office of Bitch Thatcher. Like American labor leader Lane Kirkland, who spent all the energy of his members trying to elect a favorable politician to keep him in power.

This kind of attitude will not work. The slave owners will only give up when workers use their solidarity to stage a general strike. The owners will have to be starved just as they starve their wage slaves. I remember when I advocated shop education on the floor of my union in 1919. I was told "workers don't need to be educated" and was offered an office job to keep my mouth shut.

Yours for Universal Workers' Control of Industry
Minnie F. Corder

CALLING ALL ARTISTS!

Plans to get out an LP recording of IWW songs sung by Wobbly musicians, recorded at the IWW songfest in Chicago during our Convention last September, are moving apace, and the committee is asking IWW artists who wish to submit ideas for cover designs for the record jacket to do so as soon as possible. The album title will be "To Fan the Flames". Send your submissions to the record committee in care of the IWW, 3435 North Sheffield Avenue, Room 202, Chicago, Illinois 60657.

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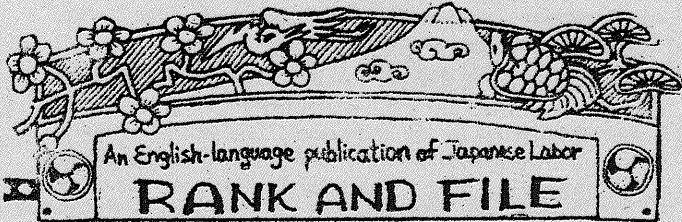
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PLEASE SEND ALL ORDERS TO: IWW, 3435 NORTH SHEFFIELD, SUITE 202, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60657

union bureaucrats?
We have some suggestions:
(1) If you come to Japan as a member of a union delegation, ask your Japanese counterparts sharp and concrete questions, such as how they fought against long working hours, rationalization, speedup, social pressure at the workplace, and the like.



- (2) Ask them to arrange a meeting with rank-and-file workers at the workplace.
(3) Get in touch with militant unionists or dissidents.

(From *Rank and File*, an English-language publication of Japanese Labor)

IW SUSTAINING FUND (Received During February 1985)	
Alan Puchalski (Fairbanks, Alaska)	10.00
Edward Jahn (Toano, Virginia)	4.00
Tom McCourt (Lawrence, Kansas)	6.00
George LaForest (Rockford, Illinois)	5.00
Lowell May (Denver, Colorado)	2.55
Anonymous (Denver, Colorado)	1.00
Lloyd Pitts (Santa Barbara, California)	4.25
Roger Drake (Mineral, Washington)	5.62
David Planedin (Nelson, British Columbia)	3.50
Toivo Balonen (Cleveland, Ohio)	10.50
TOTAL	52.42
Many thanks, fellow workers, for your generous support. (The <i>Industrial Worker's</i> loss for February was \$385.67.)	

MAY DAY GREETINGS
FROM THE
CATHOLIC WORKER ON WHEELS
SYRACUSE, NEW YORK

FOR A COMMONWEALTH OF TOIL
Stephen Schwartz, X333361
Director, History Project
Sailors' Union of the Pacific
San Francisco, California

POSTAL WORKERS

Your March "Labor in North America" column reported: "Arbitration got the nation's 290,000 Postal Workers and 195,000 Letter Carriers a 2.7% increase each year for three years, plus COLA, instead of the wage freeze and two-tier wage cut the Postmaster General had wanted." The clerk and carrier "unions" had no right to strike even though the Postal Service is now semi-private. The workers have very little input into contract decisions, but can at least vote yes or no with bargaining. With arbitration, we have no vote on this contract.

The unions and the Post Office put on a good drama for all, but were shaking hands under the table. The new contract allows a 25% pay cut for all new hires. How long do you think it will take them to figure out who is paying for the COLA and pay increases? When will workers realize that an injury to one is an injury to all? Postal-worker unions are gutless bureaucracies.

Postal workers are already divided—on the same work floor—as follows. Clerks: regulars, part-time regulars, subs, part-time flexibles, casuals, and now new hires who will be third-class workers; Carriers: same as above; Mail Handlers; Maintenance; Special Delivery; Rural Carriers. Each category of workers has its own union! How do you think this affects rank-and-file action?

The postal unions are on their knees, and the postal workers are probably the most intimidated workers in the country. We need to work for the right to strike, the end of arbitration, and the abolition of the internal spy system which is in place in every office.

A Montana Mail Carrier

IWW Directory

ALASKA: Anchorage: Ruth Sheridan, Delegate. 4704 Kenai, Anchorage, Alaska 99508. Juneau/Douglas IWW, Barry Roderick, Delegate, PO Box 748, Douglas, Alaska 99824. Fairbanks: Chris White, Delegate, Box 72938, Fairbanks, Alaska 99707.

BRITISH COLUMBIA: Vancouver IWW, Box 34334, Station D, Vancouver, BC V6J 4P3, Canada, (604) 430-6605. Job Problems Hotline: (604) 876-8438. West Kootenay IWW, PO Box 941, Nelson BC V1L 6A5, Canada.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA: Pat McConkey, Delegate, 1868 Columbia Road Northwest (610), Washington DC 20009.

CALIFORNIA: Little River IU 130, c/o Graham, PO Box 302, Little River, California 95456. San Diego: Sandra Dutky, Delegate, 4472 Georgia, San Diego, California 92116, (619) 296-9966. R. M. R. Kroopkin, Delegate, 3924½ Park Boulevard, San Diego, California 92103. San Francisco Bay Area General Membership Branch: PO Box 40485, San Francisco, California 94140. Santa Clara Valley IWW: PO Box 9249, Suite 194, San Jose, California 95157. Oakland: Richard Ellington, Delegate, 6448 Irwin Court, Oakland, California 94609, (415) 658-0293.

FLORIDA: Fred Hansen, Box 824, New Port Richey, Florida 33552.

GUAM: Guam IWW Group, Shelby Shapiro, Delegate, PO Box 864, Agana, Guam 96910.

IDAHO: IWW Delegate, Route 1, Box 137, Potlatch, Idaho 83855. Southeastern Idaho Forest Workers Affinity Group, IU 120, Box 764, Pocatello, Idaho 83201.

ILLINOIS: Champaign-Urbana IWW, Jeff Stein, Delegate, 1007 North Randolph, Champaign, Illinois 61820. Chicago General Membership Branch, IWW, 3435 North Sheffield, Suite 202, Chicago, Illinois 60657, (312) 549-5045. Meetings first Wednesday of each month, 7:30 pm.

INDIANA: IWW Delegate, PO Box E-206, Richmond, Indiana 47374.

KANSAS: General Defense Committee, Arthur J. Miller, Secretary, PO Box 6130, Kansas City, Kansas 66106. Wichita: IWW Delegate, PO Box 522, Wichita, Kansas 67201. Lawrence: Jovan Weismiller, Delegate, 917 Ohio, Apartment A, Lawrence, Kansas 66044.

KENTUCKY: Louisville IWW Group, Delegate, 2024 Baringer Avenue, Louisville, Kentucky 40204.

MANITOBA: Winnipeg IWW, "Haywire Brack", Delegate, Box 161, Station C, Winnipeg, Manitoba R3M 3S7, Canada.

MASSACHUSETTS: Boston General Membership Branch, PO Box 454, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02139. Meetings first Sunday of each month, 522-7090 or 625-5107.

MICHIGAN: Grand Rapids: IWW Delegate, 415 Ethel, Grand Rapids, Michigan 49506. People's Warehouse IU 660 Job Branch, c/o Burkhardt, 727 West Ellsworth Road, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48104. Southeastern Michigan General Membership Branch, 42 South Summit, Ypsilanti, Michigan 48197. University Cellar IU 660 Job Branch, 341 East Liberty, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48107. MINNESOTA: Minneapolis/Saint Paul IWW, Nancy Arthur Collins, Delegate, 1621 Marshall (3), Saint Paul, Minnesota 55104.

MONTANA: Clark Fork Valley IWW, PO Box 8562, Missoula, Montana 59807, (406) 728-6053. Thompson Falls: A. L. Nurse, Delegate, Route 5, Box 88, Thompson Falls, Montana 59874, (406) 827-3238.

NEW MEXICO: New Mexico General Membership Branch, PO Box 4872, Albuquerque, New Mexico 87196.

NEW YORK: Buffalo: Henry Pfaff, Delegate, 77 Eckhart, Buffalo, New York 14207, (816) 877-6073. New York City General Membership Branch, PO Box 183, New York 10028. Rego Park: Jackie Painish, Delegate, 99-12 56th Road (5-J), Rego Park, New York 11374, (212) 868-1121.

OHIO: Southern Ohio General Defense Committee Local 1, Doug Slaton, Secretary, PO Box 19645, Cincinnati, Ohio 45219. Southwest Ohio IWW Group: Corey Slavitt, Delegate, 1119 Xenia Avenue, Yellow Springs, Ohio 45387. Phone: (513) 767-1727.

ONTARIO: Brian Burch, Delegate, 257B Carlton Street, Toronto, Ontario, Canada M4L 2L4.

PENNSYLVANIA: Tom Hill, Delegate, PO Box 41928, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19101.

SOUTH CAROLINA: Harbinger Publications, IU 450 Job Shop, 18 Bluff Road, Columbia, South Carolina 29201, (803) 254-9398.

TEXAS: Austin: Andrew Lee, Delegate, 3402 Enfield (B), Austin, Texas 78703, (512) 472-7854. Houston: Gilbert Mers, Delegate, 7031 Kernel, Houston, Texas 77087, (713) 921-0877.

WASHINGTON: Bellingham General Membership Branch, PO Box 1386, Bellingham, Washington 98227. Orchard Workers Organizing Project, Box 2223, Chelan, Washington 98816. Seattle General Membership Branch, 3238 33rd Avenue South, Seattle, Washington 98144. Tacoma/Olympia General Membership Branch, 2115 South Sheridan, Tacoma, Washington 98405, (206) 272-8119. Walla Walla IWW, PO Box 392, Walla Walla, Washington 99862, (509) 525-0066.

WISCONSIN: Madison General Membership Branch, c/o 514 South Baldwin, Madison, Wisconsin 53703.

WHY NOT?

The IWW wants you—to join the 1% Club. Donate 1% of your income for operating expenses. Buy press stamps! Give to the Sustaining Fund! Help the *Industrial Worker*! When did your branch last cuss/discuss an article in the *Industrial Worker*? Leave an extra copy of the *Industrial Worker* in the laundromat!

Around Our Union

NEW YORK WOBS RAISE FUNDS FOR BRITISH MINERS

It was standing room only in Manhattan's Eagle Tavern January 13th at the fundraiser for striking British miners and their families, jointly organized by the New York Branch of the IWW, the NY H-Block/Armagh Committee, and the Miners Support Group.

Among the highlights of the benefit were a rousing talk by IWW soapboxer and author Sam Dolgoff on "The British Mine Strike and America", a report on the strike at year's end by Scottish coal miner John Dillon, and spirited performances by Irish musicians Ray and Tony, Larry Otway, and Trudy Callahan.

New York Wob Mike Donovan ran his Wobbly-style auction, raising money for the miners with such rare items as "the Royal Crown Jewels", "the Queen's box", and a wooden bird carved from "the skull of Ronald Reagan".

FW Dolgoff stressed the need for global solidarity much in keeping with the program of the IWW. It's not a "British strike", but a working-class strike, he pointed out, and working people all over the world will be affected by its outcome.

John Dillon's slides of the coal pits demonstrated the courage and tenacity of the striking miners and their families. He told the audience that the strike had minimal support from AFL-CIO unions, and asked that we "Dig Deep for the Miners", since donations are the only source of funds that keep them going in what has turned out to be nothing less than a class war. The fellow workers responded by contributing \$908 to the till.

A Strategy for Fundraisers

Renting a back room of a popular tavern on a slow Sunday night might be the strategy we're looking for in pulling off a benefit that raises money instead of losing it. Try negotiating with the tavern owner for the free use of the room. He or she keeps the drinks tab; we keep the admissions and do the cleanup. Whatever we collect is gravy: no trying to recoup on money put out for beer kegs or bottles, no schlepping to and fro of paper goods, no sloshing all night in wet suds, and no recouping of money put out, since no cash is on the line. Better still, spend whatever funds you have for the benefit on some well-written ads in local papers.

Rochelle Semel

WASHINGTON, DC: IWW General Executive Board member John Spitzberg was one of several unionists arrested at the South African embassies January 11th while demonstrating their opposition to the apartheid system. Some 2,000 people have now been arrested across the US in demonstrations against apartheid, while tens of thousands more have participated in pickets of South African consulates and embassies and in other solidarity actions.

WESTERN MASSACHUSETTS: Members, subscribers, and friends got together for a potluck March 2nd.

Among those attending were Connecticut hospital workers who are dissatisfied by their lack of say in union policy and are considering the possibility of forming an IWW caucus at their workplace. GEB Chairperson Dave Tucker signed up some new members.

MINNEAPOLIS-SAINT PAUL: The Twin Cities IWW Group has printed up a full-size poster calling for World Labor Solidarity in six languages. The poster is being plastered throughout the city, and joins an earlier poster which points out that "The boss should prove the work is safe instead of the worker proving it isn't" and encourages people to subscribe to the *Industrial Worker*. Both posters were designed by FW Greg McDaniels.

VANCOUVER: Vancouver Wobs participated in a week of activities celebrating International Women's Day March 3rd through 10th, attending a march, films, and workshops and distributing IWW literature. The Branch has also issued a four-page leaflet on reducing the workday called "Lost Time", noting that a shorter workday is an issue whose time came decades ago. The Branch's Job Problems Hotline continues to hum, drawing calls from scores of wage slaves seeking help in improving their working conditions, getting unemployment benefits, and similar matters.

The Branch's efforts to distribute IWW literature are also thriving. The *Industrial Worker* is now available at five bookstores in the Vancouver area, as well as at the Organization of Unemployed Workers Centre (in which Wobblies continue to be active). And literature tables are popping up at events throughout Vancouver; on January 12th numerous leaflets were distributed and about \$25 of IWW literature was sold at an all-day anarchist film fest which drew some 200 people.

General Executive Board member Dave Bostock was featured in an interview in the January 17th edition of the *East Ender*, a Vancouver community newspaper. Although the article got our name wrong and falsely claims that membership in Vancouver is shrinking (in fact, our numbers have grown dramatically in Vancouver over the last two years), it mentions that the IWW is active in a number of areas—especially in assisting the unorganized and unemployed.

NEW YORK: Local Wobs have been taking part in demonstrations at the South African embassy over the last two months. New York Branch Corresponding Secretary Mike Donovan and former General Executive Board Chairperson Rochelle Semel have been arrested in these demonstrations, and FW Semel appeared in court April 5th on charges stemming from her February 24th arrest. The Branch is continuing its strike against Keller Fish, whose boss has moved operations to Maine in an effort to escape the union.

JUNEAU-DOUGLAS, ALASKA: Our newly-chartered Southeast Alaska General Membership Branch has an organizing drive under way among tour-boat operators and is working to establish a network of unionists and workers around the Pacific Rim. On February 10th the Branch sponsored a showing of two documentaries on the impact of international conglomerates, and Branch



Fellow Workers Ken Burch and Tracy Bird of the Southeast Alaska GMB working on *Air Solidarity* in the KTOO FM studio. The half-hour bi-weekly radio show can be heard in Juneau, Alaska on the second and fourth Mondays of each month at 8 pm. (Photo by Dave Gaston)



members are participating in "Air Solidarity", a twice-monthly radio program which combines a roundup of labor issues from Alaska and elsewhere with a union calendar of events and cultural activities.

TORONTO: Fellow Worker Brian Burch continues to fight a court order barring him from joining picket lines, strike-support actions, or any public demonstrations, following his conviction last year for "creating a disturbance by shouting" (see the January *IW*). On April 10th FW Burch goes to court for "breach of probation" for attending a demonstration despite the court ban. Several Wobblies and others have written to officials of the Ontario Provincial Government protesting the sentencing and conviction, and have received letters from Government officials falsely claiming that FW Burch has not followed the appeals procedure for a probation variance to overturn the restrictions. In fact, a Judge Di-Gecco rejected FW Burch's appeal October 25th, forcing him to seek other remedies.

Fellow workers are urged to send letters to Robert Welch, Attorney General of Ontario, and Claude Bennett, Minister of Tourism, demanding that the "breach of probation" charge be dropped, that the sentence barring Burch from participating in demonstrations and strike-support actions be overturned, and that his conviction be set aside. In earlier letters, some Wobblies have mentioned that they will not be visiting Ontario because of these outrageous attacks against the free-speech rights of our fellow workers. Letters should be sent to the two above-named ministers at Parliament Buildings, Toronto, Ontario M5A 2L4.

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TO:

DID YOU NOTICE, DID YOU !!

SPANISH DOCK PROTEST CONTINUES: Under a socialist prime minister and with the assent of the socialist General Union of Workers, layoffs (now over 17,000) continue in the Spanish shipbuilding yards. So do the protests, which last year claimed the life of one worker in a clash with police in Gijon. On February 7th, again in Gijon, a cop was injured during a dockworkers' demonstration.



"In order to involve you more in the decision-making process, the company has decided to let you decide the color of your shackles this year."

US ILLITERACY: About one out of three US adults is functionally illiterate. According to Jonathan Kozal, author of *Death at an Early Age*, "Illiteracy in any land as well-informed and wealthy as the USA in 1984 is not an error. It is not an accident. There is no way that it could be accident or error. Illiteracy among the poorest people in our population is a logical consequence of the kinds of schools we run, the cities that starve them, the demagogues who segregate them, and the wealthy people who escape them altogether to enroll their kids in better funded, up-to-date, and more proficient institutions. It is a consequence, too, of economic planning which for many decades has regarded certain sectors of the population as expendable, or at least extraneous to the perpetuation of the social order."

BRITISH "BUGS" SHOW BANNED: In late February, controllers of Britain's commercial TV networks refused to screen a documentary on British Intelligence surveillance (including phone taps) of anti-nuclear demonstrators, civil-rights activists, and union leaders for fear of breaking the 1911 Official Secrets Acts. Producer Geoffrey Seed of the 20-20 Television Company said his program carried interviews with former agent Cathy Massiter, who said Britain's MI5 intelligence service planted a "mole" in the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament to help the Government counter its activities.

ISRAEL CLOSES UNIVERSITY OVER BOOKS: In early March the Israeli Government closed down the Palestinian-run Bir Zeit University on the occupied West Bank after discovering banned books, posters, and tapes containing what military authorities said was "inciting material" there. The "incitements" were confiscated, and about 50 people were arrested. Campus officials said the materials were for an exhibit planned by students to commemorate the 16th anniversary of the Popular Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine. A spokesperson for the Civil Administration, the branch of the Israeli Military that controls the West Bank, said the CA would decide after a week whether to allow the University, the largest in the area, to re-open.

ONE-FOURTH OF US CHILDREN POOR: In 1983, the last year for which figures are available, 13.7 million US children (22%) were living below the poverty level of \$10,178 for a family of four. The number of children under 18 in families classified as poor was 187,000 more than in 1982 and 3.4 million more than in 1979, and the highest since 1965. More than half of these children live in single-parent, female-headed families. Women make an average of 60¢ for every dollar men make; more than half of all women bringing up children alone do not receive child support; and more than half of those who do get child support do not get the full amount owed them.

HUMAN RIGHTS ABROAD, civil rights at home: The Reagan Administration has unleashed its full fury against a group of church workers who have chosen as a matter of conscience to provide sanctuary for Central American refugees, primarily from Guatemala and El Salvador. The full scope of the Administration's investigations may never be known, but it compiled 40,000 pages of secretly-taped conversations in connection with the indictment of 16 people in Phoenix, Arizona, using wiretapping equipment it once claimed would be used only for investigating organized crime. In a pre-trial motion filed in conjunction with the indictments, the Government is seeking an early court order limiting the evidence that can be introduced by the defense. By arguing that any proof of motive is legally irrelevant, the Government hopes to bar testimony on the extent to which its Central American policies require human-rights violations or its record under the Refugee Act of 1980, whereby despite the law's provisions fewer than 3% of all political-asylum applications involving Salvadorans were granted in 1984, compared to a general average of about 20%.